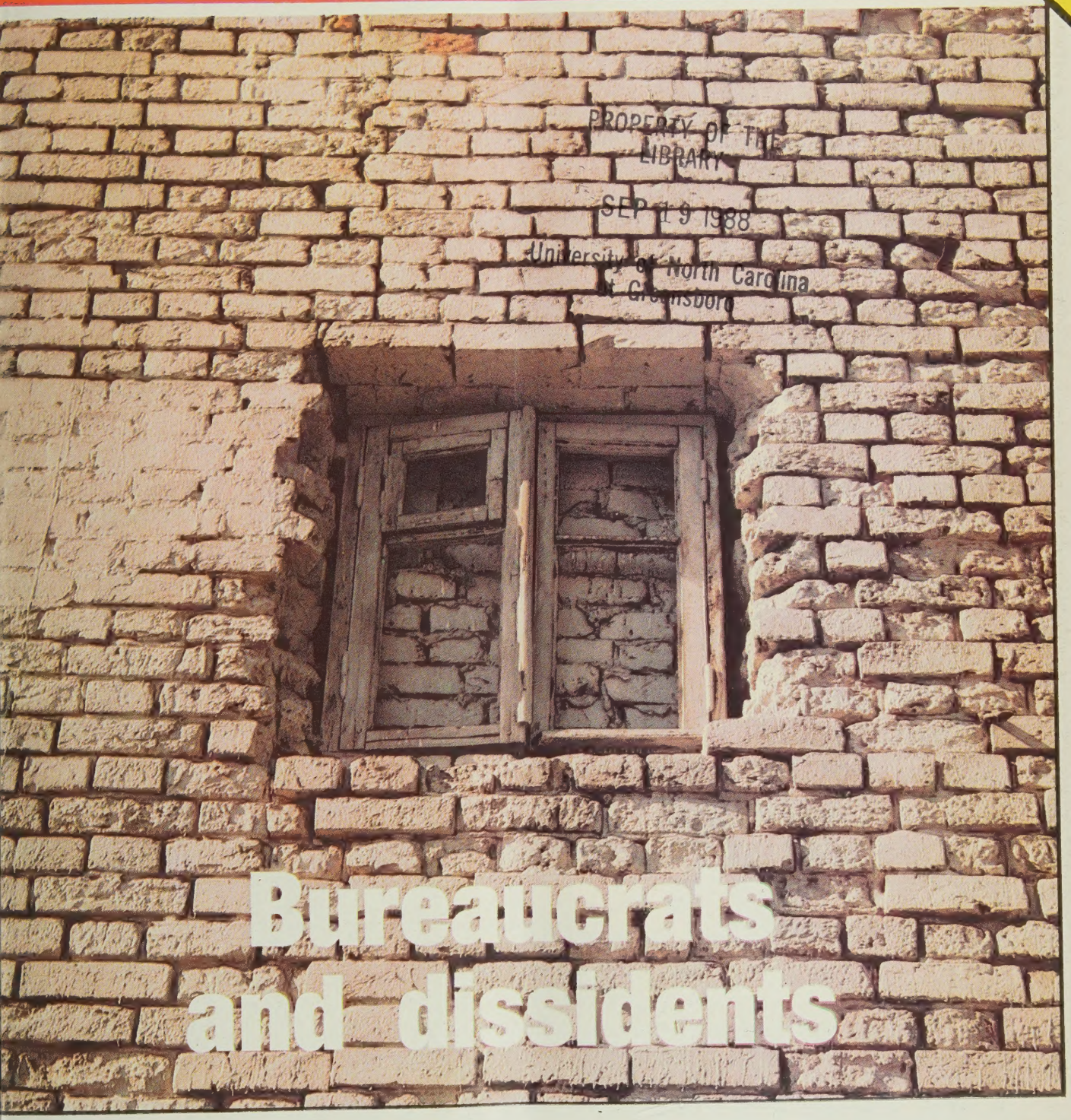
37
EPTEMBER 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
F WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

The price of disarmament

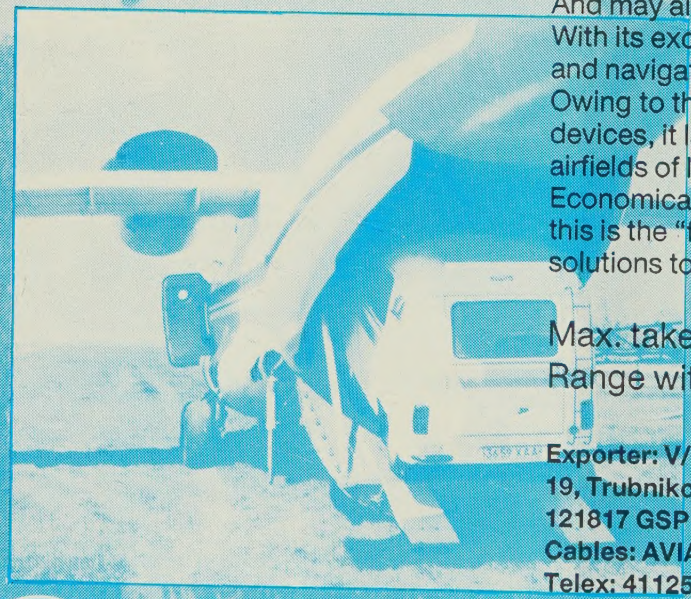


PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY
SEP 19 1988
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

Bureaucrats and dissidents

What makes a woman happy

AN-72 – Meet the new generation of cargo planes



It takes aboard 10 tons of cargo.
With maximum degree of mechanization of loading/unloading operations.
And may also carry 59 passengers.
With its excellent advanced piloting and navigation equipment.
Owing to the high-power engines and efficient high-lift devices, it lands onto and takes off from airfields of limited dimensions.
Economical and easy to service and maintain, this is the "flying truck" offering ideal solutions to your haulage problems.

Max. take-off weight .....33,000 kg
Range with 7,500 kg payload..... 2,000 km

Exporter: V/O AVIAEXPORT
19, Trubnikovsky Per.
121817 GSP Moscow G-69, U.S.S.R.
Cables: AVIAEXPORT Moscow
Telex: 411257
Tel.: 290-01-71

Aviaexport USSR

NEW TIMES

No. 37, September 1988

Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
V. GANYUSHKIN,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
O. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
SEP 19 1988
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The United Nations, believed to have all but lost face until quite recently, is now demonstrating the efficiency of its versatile mechanism in attaining peace, international security and disarmament. So far so good, but won't we have to pay an extra price for the slashing of arms stockpiles?

See pp. 5, 18, 20

CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost

4
Highlight of the week

5
Iraq – Iran
GUNS ARE SILENT, DIPLOMATS SPEAK

8
Quotations

9
U.S.S.R. – Turkey
Yakov Borovoi
OPEN BORDER

10
Pugwash movement
Rostislav Zolotaryov
SCIENTISTS AS PEACEMAKERS

12
Observer's view
Alexei Bukalov
THE BLUE, BLUE SEA

13
Middle East
Leonid Medvedko
THE FAR-OFF PROMISED LAND

16
Chile
THE YOUNGER GENERATION AGAINST PINOCHET

18
United Nations
Grigori Morozov
THE GIANT WAKES UP

20
Disarmament problems
Alexei Kireyev
THE PRICE OF DISARMAMENT

23
U.S.A. – election year
Nikolai Sakharov
CAN BIG MONEY BUY EVERYTHING?

26
Letter to a foreign friend
Vadim Zagladin
LOOKING BACK...

29
Reflections
Gennady Batygin
THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING DIFFERENT

32
Romania
Sergei Svirin
BUILDERS OF SHIPS

34
Bulgaria
Kolyo Kolev
GLASNOST FOR ALL

36
Czechoslovakia
Konstantin Isakov
THE INITIATIVE INDUSTRY

38
Letters from People's Korea
Boris Balkarey and Albert Pin
A PAPER FLOWER FROM PANMUNJON

41
Junior world
Simon Soloveichik
YOU'LL BE SURPRISED

42
Sport
Alexander Gomelsky
WINS THAT MUST BE FORGOTTEN

44
Profile sketches

46
Way of life
Larisa Kuznetsova
WHAT MAKES A WOMAN HAPPY

48
Theatre
Tatiana Firsova
MACIEJ ENGLERT'S MOSCOW "TANGO"

Cover by
Victor Brel

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Telefax: 200-41-92, 200-10-38
Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek
Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Any material reprinted must be acknowledged

New Times is delivered to you by Aeroflot

OPINIONS

Veil Voigt
Erfurt, G.D.R.

■ Thank you for the article "The fourth step" in issue No. 23. I liked both the presentation (a dialogue between journalists Galina Sidorova and Alexander Pumpyansky) and the depth of reasoning.

Following Reagan's visit to the Soviet Union, our party branch held a discussion on why the Moscow summit had attracted so much attention as compared with the previous ones. I think that only a survey of Soviet-American relations over the last three years can help answer that question.

While in Moscow, the President said that the Soviet Union was not an empire of evil. Who could have imagined that three years ago? Academician Sakharov was included in a Soviet delegation. Who could have thought that possible three years ago?

I feel that the Moscow summit demonstrated new thinking not only in international relations but also in the field of human rights, and that this second aspect of the new policy should be regarded not as a "concession" but as an integral part of perestroika, part and parcel of human life.

How do we treat each other and conduct discussions in our country? This also influences our discussions with other people. We shall be unable to conduct discussions with Western countries successfully until we learn how to conduct discussions at home. Exiling people for ideological reasons is not a civilized form of coexistence.

"Universal security and the ideological struggle," the joint document of the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, also demonstrates a new approach to the conduct of discussions. The task now is to put it into effect at both national and international level. The parties that signed it should ask themselves: aren't they hampered by their obsolete concepts and values?

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Dr. D.A. Elliott,
Convener, energy group,
Socialist Environment and Resources Association,
London,
Britain

■ In the issue No. 24 I read with interest your account of Andrei Sakharov's comments on nuclear energy, and was dismayed by his approach. Putting reactors underground, as he proposes, is no answer to the nuclear waste disposal problem and will only further increase costs. The answer, surely, is to develop the non-polluting energy resources, which the Soviet Union has in plenty, wind and tidal energy in particular, along with biofuels and geothermal sources which are already widely used.

The Soviet Union has evidently made some progress in this direction: we are told that several modern wind turbines have been installed and there are a number of small wave and tidal power schemes and experiments. Mention should also be made of the proposal for building a large tidal power plant on the White Sea. But, in general, the Soviet Union seems to be allocating renewables on even lower level of investment priority than the West.

If that is the case (and we would be delighted to have more information on what exactly is being done) and all the research effort goes to nuclear power, then Sakharov's claim that we "cannot do without nuclear energy" will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. I feel this would be unfortunate, for it looks as if the Soviet Union's renewable sources could in time provide at least as much energy as nuclear power.

Hopefully, the U.S.S.R., which gave us Chernobyl, could now turn its technical resources to more socially and environmentally appropriate lines of development.

T. Burashnikova
Ufa, U.S.S.R.

■ I was impressed by issue No. 31. Three clever men told us the bitter truth. Simon Soloveychik wrote about a terrible phenomenon among young people. Given the present educational system, this frankly did not greatly surprise me. In Kazan, the authorities considered the possibility of bringing in troops to put down the outbursts of youth fighting. Old methods are still practised in the army. Youths who serve in the army will, if ordered, shoot at teenagers. Moreover, they will regard it as hunting, saying they fired not at children but at "hooligans."

In his article "Rule of law is a good thing" Leonid Ionin clearly identifies the sources of political lawlessness. And, finally, I want to mention Vladimir Turbin's article "The power of words," in which he reveals the destructive influence of lies, violence and fear on society.

What I can't understand is the optimism of the three authors. Soloveychik believes that methods of educating children without compulsion will prevail. But where are these methods of education? My son will be studying in the third form this year. He does not want to talk about school – he is bored. For several years I have been writing to various departments, asking them to abolish school uniforms and allow children to wear what suits them best. But there has been no reply. What kind of education can there be in barracks? Children who roast cats and eat swans are potential fascists, and the Young Communist League card does not seem to prevent them wearing swastika arm bands.

As for the extension of democracy, I do not welcome the decree on meetings and demonstrations, because permission to hold them has to be obtained in advance, while the militia have the right to disperse them right away. Where are the guarantees of our rights?

So, gentlemen, what are you so optimistic about? I would be happy to learn that my fears are groundless.

GLASNOST

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Nikolai Grechukha,
war-disabled veteran,
Gomel, U.S.S.R.

■ I suffered the same fate as Fyodor Timoshenko from Donetsk (see Glasnost, issue No. 26). In May 1942, as a 16-year-old boy, I was sent to Germany as forced labour. But the nazis were unable to make me a slave. In two years and nine months of captivity I escaped 12 times. I was twice sentenced to death and interned in Berlin and Oppeln and in Sachsenhausen and Oswiecim concentration camps.

On March 31, 1945, I was freed by troops of the First Ukrainian Front in Ratibor (now Raciborz, Poland). I was called up, took part in battles for the liberation of Czechoslovakia, was wounded and decorated with the Order of the Patriotic War Second Class and eight medals. But on my return home I was subjected to repression.

The number of people who experienced the horrors of nazi captivity is diminishing from year to year. They must unite. Therefore, I fully support the idea of establishing an organization in our country for former prisoners of war and people driven into nazi slavery. We could tell each other and everyone else many interesting things. I think it is also necessary to establish links with similar organizations in other countries.

Yelena Shitova,
27, member of the Young Communist League, Riga, U.S.S.R.

■ In issue No. 32 I read an article by Roy Medvedev about the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, in which he describes how and why he was expelled from the Party in 1969. He alleges that the Party's line on Stalin had changed. I was rather naive to think that policy can be revised only if new facts come to light. I thought that truth is the sole criterion by which people's attitude to something or someone (Stalin or somebody else) is determined.

A historian myself, I ask: how long shall we pursue a policy that changes depending on who is in power and is downright vicious if those at the helm of state are dishonest and shortsighted?

THREE LETTERS FROM ITALY

Oreste Falorni
Florence

■ I believe perestroika is making such progress that the Soviet Union will soon be a shopwindow for the socialist world, demonstrating the achievements of its social system. However, I was worried to hear talk of the need to create a multiparty system, though the majority did not back the idea. In my opinion, one party is quite enough in a society where classes have been abolished. But it would perhaps be a good idea to form an organization or association composed of party members and non-party people. Such an organization could be a guarantee of the steady progress of your society and the growth of its social base.

Nello Stacchiotti
Ancona

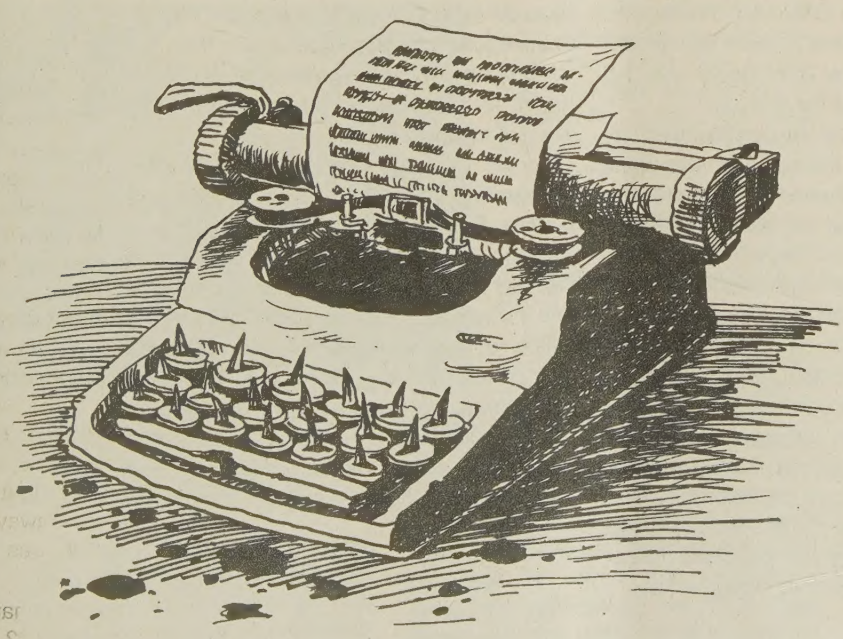
■ Our newspapers are reporting strikes in Poland. But for some reason none of them has mentioned the fact that the striking workers in that country continue to receive their wages, as distinct from our workers, who strike "at their own expense."

Our priest is shedding tears over the violation of human rights in Poland. But I would like to ask: why is the church not expressing sympathy with striking workers in Western Europe?

Luigi Ferlite
Trecastagni

■ There is today a powerful world movement against war, and I hope it can be averted. The paradox is, however, that every year thousands of people die in road accidents, and this passes unnoticed. I am firmly convinced that a campaign against road accidents and for safer road traffic should be launched. Everyone seems to be fighting against nuclear death, but no one objects to deaths in road accidents. The cases cannot be compared, but...

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Vladimir Nenashev

PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

SERGEI ZALYGIN, writer

Like Lake Baikal and the Siberian rivers, the Aral Sea has become a problem of serious concern to the general public. Environmentalists have more than once demanded that measures be taken to preserve the lake, and their voice has at last been heard.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU has examined the government's proposals for a radical improvement of the ecological situation in the area round the Aral Sea. The proposals were drawn up on the basis of recommendations from a commission composed of front-ranking experts and distinguished scientists. I think the Political Bureau meeting and its decisions can be regarded as landmarks in the ecological thinking of Soviet people.

I was pleased to learn that the Political Bureau has stressed the need for drastic measures to restore the ecological balance in the area round the Aral Sea and preserve the sea itself. Other top-priority tasks are to improve the epidemiological situation in the region and hygienic conditions in its towns and villages, and the construction of clinics, hospitals and water-supply plants there.

Provisions are made for a large-scale reconstruction of irrigation and collector and drainage systems in 1988-2000. Halting the irrigation of vast tracts of land will beneficially effect the flow of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya delta water into the Aral Sea.

It should be said that the position of scientists, journalists and the public, in this case, on the Aral Sea, has again coincided with the Party's view and been backed by the Party. At the same time, the departments which should have raised the alarm over the ecological situation round the Aral Sea again dragged behind the events, to put it mildly. It will be recalled that the disastrous state of affairs has arisen mainly through their fault. This extremely negative and narrow departmental "experience" should also be studied, and appropriate measures must be adopted.

The decisions taken by the Political Bureau have important social and political implications, and must be faithfully implemented.

FAKHRI KARIM, editor-in-chief of the pan-Arab theoretical, public and political magazine An-Nahj

The main event of the past few days is, in my opinion, the beginning of peace talks between Iraq and Iran in Geneva. The cease-fire is not just a victory for the Iranian and Iraqi people. It is a factor creating a new situation in the vast region. I think the restoration of peace will strengthen the positions of progressive anti-imperialist forces, and new regional unions on a political basis are likely to appear.

The Iran-Iraq war was a serious factor diverting public opinion from the pivotal issue of the Arab East – resolving the Palestinian question. It was advantageous to Israel and its allies. I have no doubt that the Palestinian question will now be given primary attention.

I hope that both countries will begin to reduce their armies and make every effort to heal the wounds of the war and repair the colossal damage caused by it to their peoples. Peace between Iraq and Iran must be established forever.

KOSTAS MICHAILIDIS, president of Nei Keri Elladas Trading and Publishing Ltd.

A long-standing wish of mine has come true. Nei Keri Elladas, which publishes New Times in Athens, and several other Greek companies have concluded an agreement with the Foreign Trade publishers and the Moscow-based cooperative MARS for a tour of our country by a group of artists from the famous Twenty, an association which boldly fought for the democratization of art in the years of stagnation.

For 35 days Igor Snegur, Yuri Mironov, Konstantin Khudyakov, Sergei Sharov and Evgeny Petrenko will work on the theme "Greece through the millennia," and late in October their paintings will be displayed in one of Crete's best exhibition halls. The conclusion of such an agreement shows that the new political thinking is not only improving the international climate but also opening up great possibilities for cultural contacts and contributing to the mutual penetration and enrichment of different cultures.

Guns are silent, diplomats speak

The inertia of hostility is difficult to overcome. At the Geneva negotiations, parties to the recent conflict seek from time to time to raise artificial barriers on the road to establishing final peace between them. One such problem is that of delineating the border along the Shatt al Arab River.

Geneva. Perez de Cuellar with Ali Akbar Velayati (far top) and Tareq Aziz

A report from Geneva

On last Sunday, September 4, Iraq's Foreign Minister Tareq Aziz said that the negotiations were at a standstill but that his country was prepared to continue them. In the opinion of Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, the negotiations are constructive. The same appraisal of the negotiations was given by Ian Eliasson, U.N. Secretary-General's spokesman.

These statements are not necessarily incompatible, though the situation at the talks is as delicate as a minefield. To avoid heated polemics in the press about the stands taken by each side, the negotiations are being held behind closed doors. The journalists accredited to the Geneva Palais des Nations are basing their comments, conclusions and outlooks on brief reports from the U.N. Secretary-General or his spokesman on the progress of the negotiations. They base their judgements on their observation of the situation around the talks and purely external impressions of relations between the Iraqi and Iranian delegations (the press and television are only allowed to watch the arrival of the delegations in the negotiating room).

The development of these relations in the face of difficulties is in many ways reminiscent of the complex situation at the recent Afghanistan-Pakistan negotiations, which also took place here. Many external elements of their protocol are similar: the Iraq-Iran negotiations opened in the same ceremonial Council Chamber in which the participants signed the accords on the Afghanistan settlement. The initial contacts between the Iraqi and Iranian negotiators took place through the U.N. Secretary-General, and only afterwards did the joint meeting of the delegations take place under the chairmanship of Perez de Cuellar. Using the procedure adopted during the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the meeting between the Iraqi and Iranian representatives took place at the common negotiating table. There is nothing unusual in this. The United Nations is adopting its positive experience and methods that have been tried and proved. This valuable and unique experience, one of whose authors was Perez de Cuellar, opens up real prospects for the settlement of regional conflicts, an end to which now seems more likely due to the perseverance of the United Nations.

The prospects of peace between Iraq and Iran depend on the one hand on the efforts and personal authority of the U.N. Secretary-General, and on the other on the will to work to reach accord and the awareness of the responsibility devolving on them on the part of delegations of the two countries at the Geneva talks. The Iraqi delegation, headed by the Foreign Minister, consists of 15 members, while the Iranian delegation, led by Ali Akbar Velayati, is comprised of 13. They will have to learn the difficult lesson of speaking a new language – the language of peace, mutual understanding and accord, and overcome mutual hostility and mistrust. During the initial contacts, chaired by Perez de Cuellar, the joint efforts of all the participants made it possible to improve "the freezing atmosphere," as journalists characterized it at the beginning of the talks. Now the negotiations are progressing in a constructive and normal working atmosphere, which holds out the hope that they will end with good results. But it has now become clear that the negotiations will not be easy and that it will take time to settle the issues between the two countries.

The stumbling block is the problem of the border along the Shatt al Arab. If this issue is resolved, the next steps in normalizing relations, which will require vigorous efforts on both sides, may be the exchange of POWs and the discussion of ways of repairing the mutual damage inflicted by the two sides during hostilities along with other questions whose solution will promote peace, stability and security in the region. The negotiations are still in their initial phase, though they could develop more dynamically, Perez de Cuellar believes.

Yuri Kosinsky

Geneva

Shatt al Arab: the price of those 192 kilometres

No one ever expected the Iraq-Iran negotiations to be quick or easy. It is impossible to solve in a week problems and mutual resentment that have accumulated over eight years of war. The ceasefire agreement is, thank God, being observed. U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, who was recently shown on television sitting between the opponents at the Geneva negotiations, has been succeeded in this role by his representative, the Swedish Jan Eliasson. Things seem to be progressing, and the Secretary-General now has other matters to attend to. If regional conflicts are known as flash points, Perez de Cuellar can be seen as their efficient extinguisher.

A "stumbling block," "apple of discord" is what the press calls the problem of the Shatt al Arab River (Arwanrud in Persian), which marks the border between Iran and Iraq. Indeed, the arguments about the issue have prevented the transition to a discussion of other problems: the withdrawal of troops to within national borders, the outstanding question of the exchange of POWs, and so on.

To begin with, what kind of river is it? We might well call it the Euphrates, as it is the mouth of that great waterway. However, from the point in the area of the Iraqi town of Kurna where the Tigris and Euphrates join right through to the Persian Gulf, the 192-kilometre river is known as the Shatt al Arab. It evidently runs more than the half its length through Iraqi territory where the major port of Basrah is located, so that the stretch of the river bordering on Iran is not at all long. The width of the Shatt al Arab fluctuates from 300 metres to over a kilometre, with a depth that allows for navigation.

Moreover, the Shatt al Arab is surrounded by a network of small rivers, 635 of them in the stretch between Basrah and the Persian Gulf. The rich soil of the area makes the river basin the most fertile place on earth, or so locals believe. The Iraqis have even calculated the approximate number of date palms growing from Basrah to the Gulf at 14 million. Here the Bible locates the Garden of Eden where, tradition has it, a few thousand years ago Adam and Eve were created.

The reference to the Bible is not a chance one. Not for the first time in our century, it is being invoked in resolving territorial issues. So now Iraqi historians are claiming that as long as five millennia ago the area became the home of the Arab tribes which ever since have occupied both sides of the river, including the Iranian province of Khuzistan, which has long been known in Iraq as Arabistan because most of the inhabitants there are Kaabi Arabs.

No less substantial evidence is advanced by the Iranians. But if one were to be guided by the distant past, nowadays many nations on the map of the world would not have the right to exist.

Yet history cannot be discounted, the more so as in the argument centred on the border area of the Shatt al Arab River both sides at the Geneva negotiations frequently refer to it. Iraq is now claiming that the whole river belongs to it.

The English newspaper The Financial Times, commenting on the Geneva negotiations, says that all who study the relationships between Iraq and Iran experience a sense of déjà vu.

Indeed, for over four hundred years the region has seen 25 wars and the conclusion of approximately 20 accords which were to be violated shortly afterwards.

In fact, the borders between the two states were first delineated by the Ottomans and Persians in 1555 at the point where their empires confronted each other. After that, the Persians seized the disputed Shatt al Arab area. Then the Ottoman Empire took it. Subsequent history is a monotonous repetition of these two events.

In 1639 the two empires concludeed the so-called treaty of Qasr-e-Shirin, which stipulated the transfer of the Shatt al Arab back to the Ottoman Empire. Some people maintain it to have been at that time that more or less definite border lines were drawn between the countries.

War broke out again on several occasions, to be followed by the treaties of 1727, 1747, 1823 and other years which there is little point in citing. The next carve-up of the disputed territories was in 1847. The difference was, however, that this time four empires instead of two were party to the treaty: the Ottoman, Persian, British and Russian. Britain had its eye on the lands of the Ottoman Empire while Russia dreamed of laying its hands on

The Shatt al Arab thirty years ago. When will peace return?

Persia. As a result of the carve-up, the east bank of the Shatt al Arab were assigned to Persia and the Turkish Empire gained the waterway and the west bank.

The age of imperialist compromises came to the region along with the opening of the oil fields at the beginning of the century. Thus began the decline of the old empires, giving way, though, not for long, to 20th century modern imperialism. The shipping of oil by sea assumed great importance. Neither Britain nor tsarist Russia were prepared to tolerate the quarrel over the Shatt al Arab waterway. Under the patronage of these two imperialist powers, Turkey and Iran signed the protocol in Constantinople according to which both sides obtained the right of navigation along the border river and access to the Persian Gulf.

Then, in 1937, this division of the river was confirmed in spite of resentment on the part of both Iran and Iraq, which equally regarded the whole of the Shatt al Arab their property.

Today the line must be drawn under that period of history when the destinies of the two neighbouring nations were decided on the basis of imperialist interests, when borders were redrawn because of those same interests on the part of either Western or local empires. We have had the opportunity to see with our own eyes the great changes in Iraq and Iran. The two countries have become really independent, both have adhered to anti-imperialist policies, and both have proclaimed republics. Is it right for them now to regress in their quarrel to the days of colonial empires? It has to be admitted, however, that as a rule, the many modern regional conflicts between developing nations have their roots in the colonial past.

Yet what is to be done to resolve the problem? What is to be done to overcome the obstacles that have been raised throughout history? Since the 1958 revolution in Iraq, disputes about the borderline waterway have never subsided, often escalating into conflicts. One could accept the argument that it was difficult to have normal relations with the monarchist regime of the Shah in Iran. It was Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi who in April 1969 denounced the treaty on the joint use of the river. He refused to fly the Iraqi flag on his vessels when they were passing through the Iraqi part of the Shatt al Arab, refused to accept Iraqi pilots on board Iranian ships. The poor local fishermen had to manoeuvre, changing flags on their boats when they crossed the middle of the river.

It is also true that the Shah seized three Arab islands in the Strait of Hormuz, and Iraq severed diplomatic relations with Iran.

In 1975, back in the years of Shah's rule, the participants in the OPEC summit conference in Algiers made a decision, through the mediation of Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, to reconcile Iran and Iraq, put an end once and for all to the conflict over the Shatt al Arab and draw definitive borders between the neighbouring countries. The sides signed the Algiers accord, the second clause of which defined the river border line between the two states as being along "the thalweg line," i.e., along the deepest part of the Shatt al Arab River. The Shah of Iran Reza Pahlavi and deputy chairman of Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council Saddam Hussain took part in the Algiers negotiations. The border, determined by the accord, was proclaimed "inviolable, permanent and definitive." The accord also provided for a land border between the neighbours of approximately 1,200 kilometres.

Subsequent developments, including the 1979 revolution in Iran, can be judged as the prevalence of emotion over reason on the part of the two countries' leaders. People say that in the quarrel both sides are in the wrong. In that case the maxim is justified. One can swallow personal offence, one can make concessions when what is at issue are the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, the security and well-being of one's own people. The best way, though, is when both sides go halfway to meet each other.

Now that the question has arisen as to the ownership of the Shatt al Arab, it would be only proper to recall the Algiers accord. It was not imposed by imperialist powers. It was formulated by friendly independent countries proceeding not only from economic considerations but also from a concern for peace.

Iraq needs access to the Persian Gulf as well as the right of navigation along this international waterway. Iran also needs the Shatt al Arab River. On the Iranian bank of the river there have grown up such city ports as Khorramshahr and Abadan, with their oil facilities.

The participants may take years to argue the case at the negotiating table, reminding one of the characters in the children's table on the narrow bridge. The issues may be resolved in a day. The idea remains the same, since the alternative to ending the impasse is either a compromise or war. Wouldn't it be better for them to discuss clearing the Shatt al Arab of mines and the remnants of ships, make it navigable again, which would be beneficial to Iran and Iraq not only economically but also in terms of security.

Yakov Borovoi

and Dmitry Zgersky

Photos from the magazines L'Express (France) and National Geographic (U.S.A.)

Peace efforts and the U.N. budget

On August 9, 1988, the U.N. Security Council adopted resolution 619 on Iran-Iraq ceasefire control. The 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly resumed work specially to consider the question of making financial provision for groups of U.N. military observers in Iraq and Iran.

The group of observers has been appointed for a term of 6 months. The group consists of 350 servicemen from 26 countries headed by Major General Slavko Jovic (Yugoslavia).

The unratified resolution provides for the allocation of 35.7 million dollars for the first three months. The group will need about 75 million dollars for the whole mission for 6 months. The largest sum (over 20 million dollars), according to the established U.N. scale of payment, should be allocated by the permament member states of the Security Council. This time the United Nations Organization has raised the requisite sum. But at the 42nd session of the General Assembly, Mr Perez de Cuellar has expressed serious concern about financial provision for U.N. observers.

N.T. information: The financial crisis has been brewing for several years since the U.S. Congress took a series of steps making the payment of part of the American contribution dependent on changes in the U.N. Today the United States owes the U.N. more than 467 million dollars.

That is why Perez de Cuellar described as very good a question from an American journalist who asked the Secretary-General's opinion of the likelihood of the U.S. paying its share. You are an American. So tell your government to make a full contribution to the peace-keeping efforts, answered the U.N. Secretary-General.

QUOTATIONS

Najibullah
President, the Republic of Afghanistan

■ The democratization of the political system in accordance with constitutional demands does not come easy. However, the clashes between various political forces within the framework of the legislation now in force is a normal phenomenon, and we are, in principle, all for this struggle which makes our society healthier. We are for political competition, if you will.

Velichko Dobriyanov,
philosopher, Bulgaria

■ Monopoly of power leads to monopoly in the economy and culture, to the formation of ideological and psychological stereotypes of thinking and behaviour. Bureaucratic overcentralization is inevitably anti-democratic and dogmatic as a mode of thinking. Differences of opinion cannot disappear, but they manifest themselves in a special way, in the shape of "street" or "marketplace" pluralism which consists of rumours, anecdotes, and slander filling the vacuum caused by the absence of openness. The result is dualism in public consciousness, social mentality and behaviour.

Dan Quayle,
Republican Party's U.S. Vice-Presidential candidate

■ Gorbachev is a person that has got very good political and propaganda instincts, but you've got to understand that Gorbachev recognizes strength and we've got to deal with the position of strength.

"Ladies and gentlemen, please help a poor political cartoonist whom the improvement of the international situation has cost his job."
Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister of Great Britain

■ In a country with enormous distances, if you have a young family, it's much more difficult for a woman. Even in a country this size had my husband's job been in Glasgow, in Aberdeen, in Exeter... I don't think as a wife with young children I would have been prepared Mondays to leave and come down to London to seat in Parliament and go back late Thursday night or Friday morning. This means that women who marry have a problem because unless they are around where the central government is, they have a period in which they're out of the national political arena. But you've got to keep political interest going, expressing it in your locality or state legislature. Don't let go.

Jozef Glemp,
Cardinal, Primate of Poland

■ In order to end the conflict (the current strikes in Poland – **Ed.**) it is necessary: first, to restrain emotions on both sides, to give up all prejudice, and, instead of repeating slogans, to start seeking a reasonable line of action; second, to cast ambitions aside, to suppress hard feelings, and to mind national interests rather than those of this or that social group (this applies both to the government and to the workers); third, to refrain from laying down terms which either render a dialogue impossible, or cannot be complied with at the moment.

Any government can print any number of banknotes, but you can't print more milk, meat and bread. All this can only be created by hard work.

Avraham Tamir,
Director-General, Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

■ Israel will have to live with the fact that Palestinians are represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, and that no other organization can replace it.

The bridge across the Kibash River – the natural border line between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey – opens for a two-way flow of goods.

Photo by Anzor Chantladze

Open border

The residents of an old village, divided by the state border between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, reunite for the first time in 50 years.

You can easily ford the Kibash creek in the community of Sarpi, or walk over it along a suspension bridge. The mountain creek is shallow and only a few metres across. It would take only seconds to cross it, but anyone doing so at any time over the past fifty years would have violated the state border with Turkey. It seemed that the frontier dividing the old community of Sarpi into two equal parts would be there forever, dividing families, friends, and neighbours.

It is always interesting to look back on history and hear what people who have witnessed it have to say. How did the local Lazi people communicate with each other fifty years ago? After all, some of them lived in Turkey and others in the Soviet Union. Nodar Kakabadze, a resident of Sarpi, Georgian language and literature teacher cum deputy director at the local school, says his parents had a plot of land on the other side of the border and a house on this side. They built the house in 1921 and, until 1937, every morning they crossed the border to work on their plot of land. The frontier guards had a list of people who had permission to cross. Early in the morning his mother and father left to work across the border and meet their relatives, and at night they returned home. That was how it was until 1937, when without warning the border was closed overnight. The relatives across the border were now cut off. Nodar says that his father was terribly upset. When he was old he decided to visit his relatives across the border. He waited 6 years for a visa to enter Turkey and after it was granted he had to take a plane to Moscow, then another to Ankara, travel to Artvin and from there walk on foot to Sarp on the other side of the Soviet border. When he finally arrived, his own home was a stone's throw away, across the Kibash creek. The exhausting trip had cost him a lot of money.

There were no direct links between the Soviet community of Sarpi and the Turkish community of Sarp. Relatives and neighbours watched each other through binoculars. They cheered when they saw a wedding and mourned when they saw a funeral. Nodar Kakabadze told me that recently the Turks installed a loudspeaker on the minaret in their Sarp, and having chanted the prayers, the muezzin "went on the air" with a short newscast about goings on and important events in Sarp for the benefit of listeners on the other side. Nodar Kakabadze smiled as he recalled this. "You know what kind of important events I mean, like for instance, somebody's cow has walked off, somebody has built a new house, or somebody has left for the city to find a better place to live, and that is about all." People in the two parts of the divided community did not write to each other often because letters took the long route which Nodar's father had travelled and could at times take six months to reach their destination. The muezzin was far more efficient. Naturally, there was no cross-border trade. There had been a lot of cross-border trade until the end of the 1930s though. The Turkish Minister of Industry and Trade Sükrü Yürür recalled that his father used to go to Batumi to sell his wares and would take him along.

The long-awaited reunion of relatives, friends, and neighbours has finally come. Early in the morning of August 31 people came to Sarpi from Batumi, 14 kilometres away. On the other side people came from Ankara and other places. There were especially large numbers of people from the province of Artvin, where 12 Georgian villages exist to this day.

People came to the border from both sides carrying home-made banners bearing words of greeting and wishes for peace in Russian, Turkish, and Georgian. The anthems of the U.S.S.R., the Turkish Republic, and the Soviet Republic of Georgia were played. The red ribbon was cut and the gateway to Turkey was opened.

After a rally, frontier guards from both sides officially opened the border to the cheers of thousands of people. Everyone smiled and there was a lot of hugging. Farmer Refik Kakabadze, 73, embraced his sister. Marian Vanidze hugged her sister and wept tears of joy. "How are you, my dear one?" Hatidge Norakidze kept repeating as she hugged her nephew Resat Akoy, unable to find any other words to express her feelings. Nuri Aydin, a businessman from Borcka in Turkey, met his aunt who lives in Batumi. Nuri has great plans, he has a sister in Tbilisi whom he has not seen for fifty years. Emine Khorava, 82, met her brother. With tears in her eyes she said that she hadn't been sure that she'd live to see him again.

The mutual attraction of people cannot be stopped by any frontier. "Forget about this card," says Turkish member of Parliament Ayhan Arifağaoğlu, "there is Georgian blood in my veins. My real name is Baidze and my mother was raised in Batumi. We always spoke Georgian to each other. I have a son and daughter and it is harder for them, of course, or maybe they prefer to forget that they are Georgians. But neither money nor social status has killed my love for Georgia. You

cannot even begin to imagine what I feel now, on the soil of my native land!" I felt a lump in my throat as I looked at those elderly people holding hands and repeating the Georgian words for "peace," "bread," and "homeland."

Bon voyage, friends!

On the other side of the border I noticed cars with number plates from Yugoslavia, West Germany and other countries. International transit traffic through the Sarpi checkpoint will be opened only towards the end of 1990. Well, we'll have to wait. Motorists were disapppointed and turned back, but one exception was made. A Yugoslav tourist was allowed to cross the border. He became the first guest at the Batumi Hotel to have taken a direct route from Turkey to the Soviet Union.

Developing direct links between the two neighbouring countries requires that the local authorities adopt a whole range of decisions that will eventually benefit Ajaria. A circular highway, 15 kilometres long, must be built around Batumi. The Batumi-Kobuleti highway must be resurfaced and new tunnels along it must be built. The Kobuleti-Makharadze-Samtrediya motorway must be upgraded. All this will have to be done to encourage tourism, but the benefits to Ajaria and all of us are obvious.

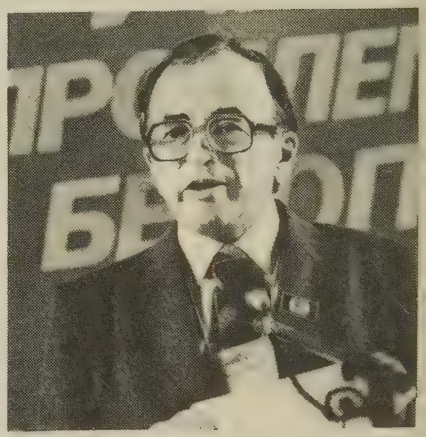
I saw two trucks drive onto the bridge over the Kibash. One belonged to the Turkish trucking company Zihni, and the other, to the Soviet company Sovtransavto. The trucks got stuck in the crowd, but the drivers weren't annoyed. They smiled, turned off the engines and got out to have a chat. They had a lot to discuss. Sinan Dagdelen's Volvo was carrying building materials for the construction of a hotel complex in the Black Sea resort of Pitsunda to be built by Turkish companies. Sinan was very glad to be the first to pass through the newly-opened gateway between the two countries. The Soviet truck was driven by Sergei Vasiliu from Kishinev, Moldavia. He was carrying dyes for Turkish textile factories. It was not his first trip to Turkey, but in the past he had to go via Bulgaria and Romania. Today the route is straight, as is the highway. It may well be that both drivers will soon be working for the same trucking company. Sihni and Sovtransavto have reached an agreement to set up a joint company. Bon voyage, friends!

Yakov Borovoi

SARPI (U.S.S.R.) –
SARP (TURKEY)

Scientists as peacemakers

The 38th Pugwash conference gathered in Dagomys to discuss global problems and common security.



Academician Vitaly Goldansky opening the conference in Dagomys

The arrival of a large group of scientists in Dagomys somewhat upset the relaxed atmosphere of the holiday resort. During the first few days of the conference crowds gathered outside the hall where it met looking for autographs of leading world scientists. New Times issued a special conference supplement and many scientists signed copies of it.

Among those attending the Dagomys conference were such world-acclaimed scholars as Joseph Rotblat, Dorothy Hodgkin, Richard Garwin, Andrei Sakharov, Theodore B. Taylor and Vitaly Goldanski. There were also scientists less well-known to the general public, and young scientists who have as yet to achieve academic acclaim. The Dagomys conference was significant both for the record number of participants and the range of subjects dealt with.

By tradition, the issues of nuclear disarmament and European security topped the agenda. The conversion of military production capacity and the non-use of research and new technologies for military purposes have appeared on the Pugwash agenda relatively recently and they too were discussed. Also on the agenda were the issues of environmental protection and helping the developing nations to advance their economies.

The discussion of these global issues was lively and revealed a diversity of views, some of which could not easily be reconciled.

The most important result of the Pugwash conference in Dagomys is that it reaffirmed the profound interrelationship between all aspects of the world today and the equally profound interdependence of the problems facing it.

Agreements and disagreements

Pugwash conferences adopt final documents and recommendations on the principles of general consensus, but that does not at all mean that there are no differences between contributors to discussions. It is hard to imagine there can be two identical points of view in such a diverse gathering of scholars of world acclaim in drawing up their recommendations, members of the Pugwash movement are therefore seeking to reflect both alternative views and those shared by the majority.

Universal humanitarian values are the chief criterion in seeking acceptable formulas shared by all. The Russell-Einstein Manifesto urges members of the Pugwash Movement always to "remember your humanity and forget the rest," and this idea could be the movement's watchword.

There are divisions in principle among the members of the movement, however. The Secretary General of the movement, Dr Martin M. Kaplan called attention to them in his opening speech. He spoke of the two approaches to seeking solutions, which he termed realistic and idealistic.

respectively. Here is how he explained his idea to me:

One can look for the resolution of a problem proceeding from an ideal desired state. Usually that approach yields the most radical solutions, but as you become aware of the contradictions in the real state of affairs, you very often tend to look for compromises. The latter approach is "realistic" in my terminology. When ways were being sought to resolve the problem of nuclear tests in the early 1960s, the "realists" got the upper hand. The treaty signed in 1963 confines nuclear testing to three spheres only, leaving underground tests not covered. Over the past 25 years, 1,100 nuclear tests have been conducted underground. Nuclear weapons have been upgraded as a result, but the whole point of the test ban treaty was to put an end to the arms race, rather than merely stop the nuclear contamination of the environment. There are "idealists" and "realists" today as well. Here is an example. Following the signing of the INF treaty, a situation more conducive to further disarmament has emerged. The politicians have learnt a great deal, but the "realists" continue to insist on accounting for every minor verification detail in future disarmament accords, and as a result, the talks on reducing strategic weapons have been dragged and we are all wasting precious time. In approaching the problem of European security, the "realists" proceed from the assumption that their opponents have the worst possible intentions. But does it really make any sense today to speak of an Eastern threat to the West or vice versa? We are wasting time again.

Dr Kaplan went on to say that in real life the "realists" prove to be "idealists" committed to myths of the distant past. We must pay more attention to the problem of weapons as well as to the political aspects of East-West cooperation.

It may very well be that Dr. Kaplan is over-hostile to those whom he terms "realists." Given conditions of confrontation and mistrust between the two military alliances, we have to think of the smallest details of future agreements, inattention to which may ruin good initiatives and increase mistrust still further. But he is certainly right when he calls our attention to the amount of time that has already been lost. The world situation is increasingly coming to a point where it is no longer possible to list the pressing problems facing the human race in order of priority.

There are problems other than the threat of nuclear war, but equally dangerous. They are less well known and sometimes not immediately recognizable. These dangers are very like radioactivity: nothing seems to betoken trouble around you, but you have already received a dose that is poisoning your body.

The report delivered by Dr Mintzer of the United States came little short of overwhelming even that well-informed audience. He was discussing the state of the atmosphere and the probability of it becoming overheated as a result of the so-called "greenhouse effect." Toward the end of his lecture Dr Mintzer showed a slide of a cartoon: a dinosaur giving a lecture to creatures very much like itself. He commented that this is what a future Pugwash conference might look like, if the grim predictions ever came true. The audience laughed, but it was not a merry laughter.

I met Dr Mintzer after his lecture in the hall and we discussed ecological and economic problems. I must confess that some of Dr Mintzer's ideas went over my head, but he clearly shared the view that cooperation between all nations, particularly the most advanced, is a precondition for resolving these problems. In order to make a transition to that sort of cooperation, we must overcome East-West confrontation as well as the emerging confrontation between North and South which has arisen from "accumulated underdevelopment." The depletion of the ozone layer in the atmosphere, the declining concentration of oxygen in the atmosphere, desertification, hunger and overpopulation threaten us all.

Men Who Reason

These problems cannot, naturally, be resolved without scientists. In order to help people and find a way out, Men Who Reason, to use Emerson's phrase, meet for their conferences.

A man took a seat at my table in a café. He guessed that I had something to do with the conference from the name tag on my lapel and asked many questions about it. At the end of our talk he said: "The world would be a different place if it were ruled by a governement made up of such scientists."

Indeed, it is the job of the pundits to rule nations, as Plato once said. Later, though, Plato came to the conclusion that good government must rely on reasonable laws, or to use the current coinage, the high standard of political development that assures wholesome social relations. A community of Pugwashites might be a prototype of a centre of the new world political culture.

Dorothy Hodgkin, President of the Pugwash movement, talking with Francesco Calogero, its future Secretary-General

None of the scientists I spoke to, and I also spoke to Richard Garwin of the United States, Francesco Callogero of Italy, and Roald Sagdeyev of the Soviet Union, do not support the idea of forming a world government of members of the Pugwash movement. Certainly, the scientists told me, the scientific community is an elite, but it is not a ruling elite, or an elite that aspires to power. Its function is to accumulate and promulgate knowledge in order to improve the life of the people. The "guilt complex" of scientists motivates them to multiply their efforts in correcting past mistakes and preventing more errors in the future.

We have no right to deceive people, the scientists told me. It is the job of scientists to issue a warning about the dangers that may come to face us all, and that is the idea that launched the Pugwash movement in the 1950s. They must also prevent the diseases of civilization. That is the message of the Dagomys conference of Pugwash scientists, a mission of good hope.

Rostislav Zolotaryov,
our special
correspondent
DAGOMYS-MOSCOW

The blue, blue sea

Alexei Bukalov

Towards International Sea Day

International Sea Day is observed in September. It is a festival of fishermen, sea-farers, ship-builders and oceanologists. The human race began to think of itself as an integral whole only after the seas and oceans had been conquered. The sea feeds and unites us. The world ocean became, in the words of Karl Marx, "a broad roadway shared by all nations." International Sea Day is a truly worldwide festival because, as we all learned at school, seas and oceans cover almost 75 per cent of the Earth's surface. However, the ocean has turned out to be very vulnerable.

Every year concern for the fate of the ocean increases. Our planet's blue seas may turn into greeny-brown or dirty-yellow liquid dumps. The world ecosystem is very close-knit. "The sea is as deep as the sky is high," goes the Russian saying. The world ocean, the cradle of life on Earth, is rapidly becoming a dump for lethal wastes. Two or three years ago, the main ecological threat was believed to be coming from the pollution of the air and rivers with industrial wastes. Today increasingly alarming reports are coming in of the pollution of the offshore waters of oceans and seas. Poisonous seaweeds are invading the coasts of Sweden and Norway in the Baltic Sea, a virus has wiped out 3,200 seals in the North Sea, the waters of the Mediterranean and Irish seas are dirty, and the Gulf of Mexico is heavily polluted. Nor is there any need to sail so far from home, it is enough to recall the "no swimming" signs at the Baltic resort of Jurmala and on the Black Sea coast this year.

The so-called "industrial" activities of the human race are eroding the biological equilibrium of the wonderful organism of the sea seemingly capable of eternal self-regulation. The plumes of pollution carried into the North Sea by the Rhine, the Maas and the Elbe contain an annual 38,000 tons of zinc, 13,500 tons of lead, 5,600 tons of copper and dozens of tons of various compounds of arsenic, cadmium and mercury. Small wonder that the seals are unable to cope.

In spite of the fact that the Brussels convention on civic responsibility for the pollution of the sea with oil was signed nearly twenty years ago, an estimated thirty thousand tons of oil is annually lost from pipelines linking offshore oil fields with the continent alone. An estimated 145 million tons of garbage is discharged into the sea by shipping. The worst fate has befallen land-locked seas. It is enough to recall the disappearing Aral Sea. It took a special decision of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee to mount an effort to restore the disturbed ecological balance in the Aral Sea region.

The Italian weekly L'Espresso recently carried a chart showing the routes used to ship toxic wastes. Dozens of arrows indicate the routes that cross the Atlantic from Europe and North America to Africa. The chart somewhat resembles a record of sea battles in which land, sea and man are the losers.

The vessel Karin B has been plying the waves like the Flying Dutchman. She carries 2,000 tons of toxic wastes originally intended for disposal in Nigeria. The smuggling ploy failed and she is now being turned away from one port after another. Where will she finally dump her deadly cargo?

Had we been a little more reasonable we would have resolved a great many pressing problem by now. The world ocean contains vast quantities of minerals, bioresources, energy and raw materials for the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Oceanic phytoplankton accounts for 50-70 per cent of the oxygen consumed by plant and animal life. If it were possible to extract the salt from sea water and uniformly distribute it over the Earth's surface, it would make a layer 150 metres thick. Technologies are available for the extraction of a large variety of valuable minerals, including uranium, from sea water. The amount of oil stored under the sea bed is estimated at 1,400 billion tons and the total area of water where oil is to be found is 40 million square kilometres. Oil is not the sole source of energy to be found in the sea. According to some estimates, the tidal power of the English Channel alone could meet the peak demand for electric energy of all European nations.

Now that the tanker war in the Gulf seems to be finally over, there is some hope of safer shipping in the region. There can be no doubt that the foreign naval presence should be removed from the Gulf. The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its ships in cooperation with other countries. According to a spokesman for the U.S. administration, however, there are no plans for the withdrawal of U.S. warships from the Gulf and their orders of engagement have not been changed. Coming as it did on the eve of International Sea Day, that is a very alarming report. Shipping lanes belong to all the world and the sea is indivisible.

Equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation and joint efforts on the part of all nations in assuring peaceful shipping are of decisive importance for the development of the resources of the World Ocean and, indeed, life on Earth.

The far-off Promised Land

Leonid Medvedko, D.Sc. (Hist.)

King Hussein's decision has brought about a new situation in the Middle East.

This brown stony earth is the earth of the Promised Land. The poppies still rear their red heads, just as they did 80 years ago when the Russian author Ivan Bunin came here to observe that the country looked as if it had been swept by a downpour of blood and stones. His metaphor assumes a very special importance today. A downpour of blood andstones has been falling for eight months on this long-suffering land.

According to the Bible, God showed Moses Promised Land in all its glory from Mt. Nebo found in the plains of Moab, right across from Jericho. Today this is the territory of Jordan, halfway between Amman and the Dead Sea. Tourists and visitors are now free to marvel at the holy places from an observation platform on Mt. Nebo. From here a breath-taking vista of by-gone times and distant lands opens up to the imaginative viewer.

In the distance one can barely make out the skyline of Jerusalem itself, a "city arranged as one dwelling." Two nations have never been able to get along under the roof of that dwelling. The Arabs call it El Kuds (Holy) and the Jews, the city of Peace. A more appropriate name for it today would seem to be the City of Sacrilege, a city that is never at peace, silently reproached by the eternally calm waters of the Jordan flowing below. Jericho seems a stone's throw away. Of the legendary wall that is said to have collapsed at the sound of the trumpets of the conquerors surrounding the city, not a trace remains.

There is an invisible, but tangible wall, though, between the two banks of the Jordan. Israeli jets roar overhead and the sonic boom they produce makes tourists shudder and shed their air of piety.

The end of dual rule

The Promised Land is perhaps the only place in the world that has known no peace since the end of World War II... The recent decision of King Hussein to sever administrative ties with the West Bank did not come as a great surprise to the people of Jordan, or to those who had come to visit the country. The move put an end to the ambiguous status of the West Bank and the dual status of its inhabitants. Most of the 900,000 Palestinians living on the West Bank under the Israeli occupation had kept their Jordanian citizenship and carried passports of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The

thirty thousand officials in the local administration drew their wages from the Jordanian treasury. Half the seats in the lower house of the Jordanian Parliament were assigned to West Bank deputies, who came regularly to Amman to attend sessions. The passage of people and goods from the West Bank to the East and vice versa, impeded though it was, continued until the situation changed dramatically after the start of the popular uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories. It seemd that the two banks were now separated by an insurmountable wall rather than by a minor river a mere ten metres across. Many of the wealthy Palestinians I chanced to meet in Amman preferred to take the long route via Europe and even America to reach the Jordanian capital. They had no way of negotiating the wall built by the Israelis between the two banks of the Jordan.

Many international forums have called on journalists, parliamentarians and public figures to send delegations to the Israeli-occupied Arab territories or travel there to show their support for the just Palestinian cause. An appeal of the kind was issued by the international conference in solidarity with the Palestinian popular uprising in Benghazi. Many of our colleagues in various countries, including those without diplomatic relations with Israel, have responded to these appeals and now regularly come here with no fears that their visits will be interpreted as de facto recognition of the illegal occupation of the Arab lands. Soviet journalists and scholars who condemn the stereotyped old thinking in their writings for the press are, it seems, still themselves in its grip. That is evidently the reason why my colleagues who took part in the Arab-Soviet dialogue in Amman could not accept an invitation to visit the occupied territory and give lectures to Arab students. There was of course no certainty that the Israeli autorities would have let us through their iron curtain. But in the end any iron curtain can be negotiated if one steps over one's own prejudices.

An alternative to occupation

One could see from the East Bank how the Israeli military authorities went about carrying out their government's orders. They set up road blocks and cut all communication lines on the routes linking the occupied lands with Jordan, but the events in the West Bank were echoed in Amman. The Palestinians deported by the Israelis spoke of killings, mass arrests and brutal repressions mounted by the Israeli authorities against the protesters. They claimed that reports on Israeli radio were false and that contrary to what they said hundreds of people were killed, more than 7,000 wounded and some 16,000 jailed.

These figures were quoted several months ago, and since then the number of casualties has grown, especially among children. The popular uprising that began forty years after the U.N. passed its resolution on Palestine (1948) was not a youth riot instigated by the PLO. Nor was it an "outbreak of terrorism by Moslim fundamentalists."

At a later stage, alarmed by the scale of the Palestinian uprising, the Israeli authorities began to claim that the PLO had nothing to do with the insurrection. The idea was to split the factions of the Palestinian movement. The Israeli hawks were out to split the Palestinians in the occupied territories and those in exile. They have failed, however, to break up the well-coordinated mechanism of the uprising. That mechanism emerged as a coalition of all patriotic Palestinian forces, including Communists, the PLO and Moslim organizations, which formed committees of national unity, first in Gaza and then in the cities on the West Bank and throughout the Israel-occupied territory.

Stones outfight firearms

For the first time in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinians are fighting on Palestinian soil. Stones are their principal weapon in the battle directed by national resistance committees. People of different views and belonging to various trends are cooperating with each other in both supreme and local Palestinian bodies. That is an entirely new development that alarms the Israeli leaders.

Attempts by the occupation authorities to isolate and neutralize the pockets of resistance fail, even if they manage to wipe out some resistance committees. As a rule new committees emerge, better organized and protected locally. The national committees have become the nucleus of people's rule. They are confronting the official institutions boycotted by the people. In this way the uprising is spreading to various sections of the population and assuming a political dimension on a mass scale. That is why, addressing a Cabinet meeting, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin acknowledged that he was no longer optimistic about further developments. That is a highly significant admission, coming as it does from the Defence Minister, who only recently blamed the uprising entirely on the PLO and boasted that he would quell it in a matter of days.

War against an amoral policy

The uprising was of course at its inception greatly under the influence of the PLO, but the Israelis themselves are to blame for the ensuing tragedy. The uprising was the culmination of resistance. Michel Bar-Zoar, an adviser to the Israeli Foreign Minister, acknowledged recently that the explosion was inevitable, because a million and a half Palestinians had been driven to despair, seeing no way out of their dramatic predicament.

That view is shared by a senior Defence Ministry official who described the uprising as the start of a Palestinian war of liberation. Indeed, forty years after the colonialists left, the Palestinians are carrying on their fight for the decolonization of their homeland. They see the Israelis as colonialists because the occupation authorities deny them their legitimate right to self-determination and national independence and because, like the colonialists of old, the Israelis are responding with live ammunition and tear gas to stone-throwing protesters. In doing so the Israelis are invoking the emergency legislation introduced by the British long before the state of Israel was formed. The Israeli authorities are trampling upon international law and grossly violating the Geneva conventions, which ban the mass repression of civilians.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Israelis stand no chance of winning the stone war. That war has knocked the bottom out of the political and military doctrines of Zionism. Israel has always tried to justify its wars of aggression by

Israelis beating a retreat

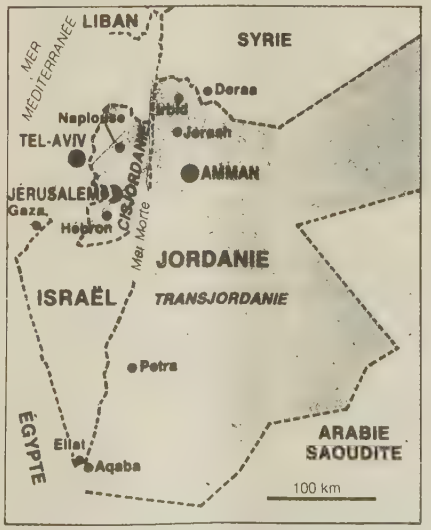
the need to safeguard its borders. Having sent its army to c rush the Palestinian uprising, Israel has for the first time found itself in a situation where it has to wage a war within its own "safe borders."

As the French magazine L'Express points out, Israel, a country that dreamed at its foundation of becoming a model democracy, has reached maturity fully aware that there can be no question of a "bloodless" or "controlled" occupation of the Palestinian bank.

Life buoy slips away

The Palestinian uprising has led to contradictory processes in Israel itself and among its Western friends. It has also split Israeli society. The rift between the right-wing extremists and "pacifists" continues to grow. A demonstration held in Tel Aviv by the organization Peace Today against repressions on the Israeli-occupied territory was attended by 100,000 protesters. The watchword of the event was: "The occupied territory will conquer Israel." That profoundly significant warning is inducing many in Israel to think again. Even some army officers are concerned about the adverse consequences of combat action against Arab civilians and the declining morale of the troops. More and more young people are refusing to do military service or join the punitive operations in the occupied territory. About 500 Israeli psychiatrists have signed a petition calling for an end to occupation on the grounds that its effects are fatal to the morale of the nation.

A number of leading Israeli authors have sent a letter to the New York Times



Shaded: The Palestine (formerly Western) bank of River Jordan

appealing to American Jews to take a more decisive stand on Israel's policy of occupation and repression. The well-known Israeli author A.B. Yehoshua has said: "If the United States really wants peace, it can put pressure on Israel. It must say that it is not going to let Israel keep territories."

Another prominent Israeli author, Abraham Oz, was even more outspoken in an interview with a French journalist. He said that all those who consider themselves to be Israel's friends must criticize what is happening there. The moral, economic and political foundations of Israel are threatened and those who criticize the Israeli leaders now are Israel's true patriots.

The U.N. Security Council has passed the unanimous Resolution 605 (unopposed even by the United States) condemning Israeli moves in violation of human rights and demanding that Israel abide by the 1949 Geneva convention on the protection of war victims. The EEC nations have in turn called back on Israel to protect civilians, abide by international law and respect human rights.

Reason has not yet prevailed. The main danger of a chain reaction of violence is that it generates an atmosphere of mass psychosis. Something of the kind is tak-

ing place in Israel today. According to opinion polls, most Israelis still support the expansionist policy of the Shamir-Peres government. But there are differences within the coalition. The extremists still call the tune, but more sober politicians are becoming increasingly vocal.

Up till now the Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir has clutched at the idea of talks on the Palestinian problem with the King of Jordan as if it were a life buoy. Following another round of consultations with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, Israeli politicians have started talking of their readiness to share power with Jordan on the West Bank in the spirit of Camp David. According to the New York Times, Washington views Jordan as the main representative of West Bank Palestinians in the forthcoming talks.

Having decided to sever judicial and administrative links with the West Bank, King Hussein has effectively pushed away the life buoy that both Israel and Washington were trying to clutch at.

King Hussein's move has led to a new disposition of forces on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Many observers believe that it will strengthen the Jordanian regime. The French historian Yves Cuan says the King's decision was as daring as the one he took 25 years ago when he established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

King Hussein's decision creates an entirely new situation for the Palestinians who are fighting a war against the Israeli occupation with stones. It aso creates a new political situation for efforts that are really aimed at attaining a lasting and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Such a settlement can only be attained by the collective efforts of all parties concerned, on condition that the legitimate national and human rights of all the inhabitants of the Promised Land are respected. They have suffered for far too long and want the peace and happiness promised by the prophets in the Bible and the Koran alike.

AMMAN-MOSCOW

Photos from L'Express (France), Newsweek (U.S.A.) and TASS

CHILE

The younger generation against Pinochet

Pinochet now controls the lives and even the minds of Chileans. Nevertheless, his regime has no future.

Despair and hopelessness reign throughout the country on the eve of the plebiscite. Though the state of emergency has been lifted, nothing augurs any real change. Internal conflicts are tearing the opposition apart, and there is no unity even among the left. Against this grim background, Pinochet looks an indisputable victor. But (we Spanish-language speakers say the most important things after a "but") Pinochet has failed in everything that relates to his plans to win the support of the young.

It is the young that Chilean fascism was hoping to rely on. The national-socialist model was used in its orthodox form. Young people were drawn into public activity, and promised a happy life in "a new Chile." The indoctrination campaign began in the kindergartens. It is no fortuity that the National Junta of Kindergartens is subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior and not to the Ministry of Education. The younger generation must develop a new, anticommunist outlook. Formerly this proved effective and the dictator had no reason to fear that it was ever likely to misfire. However, here is the picture of what is happening to different groups of Chilean young people today.

Children

We shall consider as children those who are no longer infants but have not yet reached their teens (from 6 to 12). They were born under the present regime. They came under the attack of television campaigns and the authorities sought to indoctrinate them with reactionary ideas through the educational system. But now the government is appalled to see children taking part in ptotest demonstrations. And, each time, it accuses the opposition of corrupting the children. In fact, even very young Chileans know that Pinochet is evil. So they show him in their play, with brilliant irony acting out the speeches the president is wont to make every day. They learned to fear fascist teachers (comprising less than 20 per cent), and ask the teachers they trust to explain the situation. Of course, their minds could have been implanted with anticommunist sentiments, and yet they cannot develop good feelings towards Pinochet and the armed forces.

And this is only natural, since children are able to think, and thinking at this age is based wholly on concrete things, and the concrete reality is that in all families Pinochet and the armed forces are disapproved of. "The old man," as the young and not so young refer to him, is established in the minds of the Chileans as a mean creature, and the children are well aware of it.

The government are racking their brains, making more and more fresh attempts to accommodate the education system to their purposes. In the last desperate attempt, they have transferred all educational institutions to the authority of town councils so that the mayors can keep watch on every teacher. As a result, more than 15 thousand teachers have been sacked under the pretext of budget cuts. In 1987 the figure topped 8 thousand, according to data provided by the Associated Unions of Educators and confirmed by the Chilean Teachers' Association.

It is clear that the reasons underlying the persecution of the country's best teaching personnel are not financial: they are accused of failing to educate children

That is how Pinochet henchmen treat the youth

TASS photo

in a spirit of devotion to the government. Pinochet's ideologists had no success. In an attempt to vindicate themselves before the dictator, they laid the blame at the teachers' door.

An education free of fascist ideology is labelled dangerous and should therefore be wiped out. Children who have had it are denounced as enemies of the country and thus not worth the money to be spent on them.

Meanwhile the teachers have to do twice the normal work load so as to have no time left to plot any conspiracies. The individual work with pupils is therefore out of the question, and television has a free hand to make efficient government propaganda.

I do not think there is a better way of exposing the viciousness of the Pinochet system than such reasoning. And this kind of educational system is even more wicked than the notorious torture. However, I remain optimistic because more than 90 per cent of the new teachers we have trained in Chile are well aware that they must go into the struggle. The remaining 10 per cent are career seekers who will take up administrative posts but will have no one to succeed them. Government supporters in all Chilean educational institutions are despised and feared. People listen to them and mechanically parrot everything they are meant to say. People do not argue with them, but every teacher is aware of what they are worth, and we deny them moral support. They know it, and report us to the authorities.

Teenagers

From 12 to 18 years of age young people develop their own system of values with regard to the family, society and work. Teenagers are expected to have critical views of reality. Our young people have grown up under the dictatorship and have become sceptical and unruly.

Thus they look at political problems from their own point of view. Seeking to get a higher education, they see with despair how negligible the opporftunities are. On the other hand, job prospects are not very bright either, with 50 per cent of every family jobless. Therefore, towards school-leaving age, young people develop a state of anxiety in which various forms of psychic and social disturbances become apparent. This is also resulting in an increase in drug addiction and crime.

High-school students take to street battles and join protest movements. They express their protest intuitively but it is a protest nevertheless. Pinochet is unable to find an explanation for this phenomena, and charges teachers with corrupting the young. He falls back on the paranoid argument that the enemy is always to blame. The gentlemen of the government lack any sense of responsibility for their actions, for in spite of the fact that they have been in absolute power for 14 years they are always blaming their opponents for their failures.

Everyone in Chile who has taken part in a protest movement knows police brutality at its true worth. High-school students have also joined the movement and they know at first hand what police brutality means. As a result, this group of young people disapproves of any pro-government action. Even in the affluent strata of the population, government supporters are despised. Having lost confidence in this group of the younger generation too, Pinochet has started repressions against it.

The youth

As "the young" proper I mean young men and women who have left school and are seeking to take their places in the society. How is life treating them today?

Most young people in Chile suffer from joblessness. They have to live off their families for many years, unable to be useful to society. It is clear that this group does not support the government. Gradually these young men and women join the ranks of the opposition, but the majority remain inert, apathetic and disillusioned. Here Pinochet's failure is obvious. And the government reacts as always by formenting repressions.

Approximately 10 per cent of young people enter universities and colleges, thus realizing their dream of getting a higher education. But here too the frustration of Pinochet and his ideologues is obvious. The universities have always been a thorn in the government's flesh. With every passing year, the student movement grows politically and the students see the only alternatives for their movement in either a coalition between the left on the one hand and the Demochristians on the other, or the left-pure and simple. The alternative of supporting Pinochet is hardly considered. The left-wing forces have won even in colleges and universities with a right-wing orientation as, for example, the Commercial Engineering School of the University of Tarapaca, Arica.

This was followed up by repressions against Chilean intellectuals which sparked off protests even on the part of the conservatives in their ranks. For the first time Pinochet had to fire one of his own supporters, Rector Federici. The planned "victory" at the forthcoming plebiscite is expected to be followed by a cruel crackdown on the Chilean universities. We teachers are well aware of it, and nothing remains for us but to wait. To wait for children to become teenagers and for teenagers to become young men and women.

The young have already risen against fascism. It will not last more than a few years. We know that these years will be the worst. But we Chilean young people will have the opportunity to see the last of the tyrant whose fall has long been overdue.

A young teacher
from Santiago

The giant wakes up

Grigori Morozov,
Deputy Chairman, U.S.S.R. United Nations Association

With protracted regional conflicts across the world having marred its reputation, how does the U.N. look in the light of recent developments?

This September will be highlighted by the opening of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. Following the procedure laid down by the United Nations Charter, Peter Florin (G.D.R.), Chairman of the last General Assembly session, will declare the next session open on the third Tuesday of the month – September 20.

The coming session will meet against the background of increasingly pronounced positive tendencies in international relations, even if they remain somewhat patchy. The concept of new political thinking, which takes a strictly realistic view of international developments, is steadily coming to the fore.

The changes for the better now in progress across the world find their reflection in the work of the United Nations. The organization has achieved a number of substantial results in settling international conflicts. The efforts of Diego Cordovez, special assistant to the U.N. Secretary-General, contributed to the success of the negotiations on a settlement in Afghanistan. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the U.N. Secretary-General, has played a personal part in bringing the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq war to an end. Further headway has been made towards resolving the Cyprus problem, and the process of remedying the situation in southern Africa and settling other regional conflicts has begun.

In this nuclear age of ours, the participation of the public in high politics has taken on a new quality. This participation, plus people's diplomacy, has added much to the ethical humanist component of politics.

The ideas voiced by the world public as to ways of making the U.N. more efficient are of undoubted interest in this connection. Experts of the United Nations Association of the United States have compiled a report entitled "A successor vision: the United Nations of tomorrow," with the Ford Foundation's financial support. The 22 authors of the report include ex-Secretaries of Defence Elliot Richardson and Robert McNamara, ex-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, ex-Chancellor of the F.R.G. Helmut Schmidt, prominent figures from Denmark, Uruguay, India, France, Nigeria, Japan and others.

Numerous publications openly hostile to the United Nations are appearing in the U.S. They reflect the views of reactionary quarters who cling to imperial ambitions and are unwilling to reckon with political realities. Publications by the American Heritage Foundation are cases in point. Prior to Ronald Reagan's re-election for his second term, the Heritage Foundation, the administration's "brain trust," recommended that "the U.S. and other democratic nations... consider withdrawing from the U.N." This, the Heritage Foundation concluded, would "inevitably lead to the collapse of the U.N." Quite a number of American scientists, politologists and journalists still support this view.

The above-mentioned report by experts at the United Nations Association of the United States is of an entirely different nature. It is based on a thorough analysis of problems whose solution, in its authors' opinion, would add to the United Nations' importance and effectiveness.

Although some propositions in the report are to be taken with a pinch of salt, each can serve as a basis for discussion. Presumably, such discussions will be conducted under the auspices of the World Federation of U.N. Assocations, which has adopted a resolution on the establishment of the international Commission on the Role of the United Nations in the Maintenance of Global Security, and at regular bilateral meetings of the Soviet and American U.N. Associations.

Notably, the report states that the U.N. is "an essentially political organization" which has largely promoted decolonization and helped go a long way towards settling a number of conflicts (the report was written before the agreements on Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, etc., had been reached).

"The U.N.," the report points out, "has no choice but to deal, step by step, with the world as it is: difficult, divided, dangerous and in disarray. The U.N., after all, is needed for precisely the reasons that have inhibited its success."

This point of departure is evidence of the authors' political realism. Nevertheless, they failed to discuss the principal aim of the United Nations, which is to eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and made practically no mention of the problems associated with improving the work of the U.N. Security Council, essential as it is for the preservation of peace.

The authors of the report think highly of the role the U.N. is playing in resolving global problems. "The U.N.," they write, "ought to be a major player in the care, preservation and management of the global ecosystem." They emphasize the importance of control at global and reg-

Professor Grigori Morozov, LL.D., Honoured Scientist of the Russian Federation, is senior research associate of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

ional levels, and the need to draw upon the U.N.'s record of arms and disarmament control and enhance its role in this complex process.

The report rejects, with good reason, the mistaken assumption current in the West "that the forms and principles of parliamentary decision-taking are an appropriate model for the conduct of most U.N. business." Indeed, the techniques and methods of bourgeois parliamentarism, largely calculated for propaganda effect, are quite inappropriate to the United Nations.

Every support should be given to the suggestions that the U.N. should step up and diversify its research efforts, that a modern data bank be formed, and that closer contacts be established between basic research centres.

Some other propositions in the report are also worth serious discussion. They include proposals for the further intensification of U.N. control over the observance of disarmament agreements, the formation of the appropriate ad hoc and multilateral U.N. on-site inspection groups, and for the more efficient preparation and organization of the General Assembly's sessions. The report suggests ways of improving the United Nations' performance in the economic and social spheres (for instance, forming new agencies within the framework of the ECOSOC, transferring to it the functions of the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly so as to prevent duplication, merging certain subdivisions of the Secretariat) and makes a number of other suggestions aimed at improving the work of the United Nations.

At the same time one cannot agree with the author's general conclusion that the U.N. is in a state of profound crisis. In fact, the U.N. is suffering from financial crisis, and, in general, the report admits as much. This crisis is known to have been caused by the United States. On the whole, the U.N.'s annual budget constitutes about 850 million dollars which, as the U.N. Secretary-General pointed out, is less than the cost of a nuclear submarine. In 1988, the U.N.'s debt to the U.S. amounted to more than half of the former's budget deficit (over 467 million dollars). Moreover, the U.S. has borrowed 65 million dollars to pay for its peacekeeping operations.

In the United Nations, the situation is rightly ascribed not so much to financial as to political pressure from the United States. In delaying the payment of its contributions to the regular budget, the U.S. is beginning to attach political strings to its relations with the world community's representative organization. In the meantime, the U.N. has issued an official warning that this November, right in the middle of the 43rd General Assembly session, the organization could run out of funds altogether.

Washington's financial blackmail is bitterly resented by most U.N. member states.

The authors of the report hardly had reason to claim, as they did, that since the late 1970s there has been no "institutional momentum" in the U.N. "with no group of countries supplying initiative or direction." This does not correspond to the real state of affairs. It is common knoweldge that over the past few years the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have submitted a number of large-scale initiatives to the United Nations not only on specific problems of safeguarding peace and promoting disarmament and international cooperation, but also on measures to improve the U.N. mechanism.

The most important of these proposals have been those to set up an all-embracing international security system. The Soviet proposals proceed from the fact that such a system can be established only on the basis of a radical enhancement of the role played by the United Nations – primarily by the Security Council, the General Assembly, specialized agencies, the Secretariat and the Secretary-General. Within the framework of this system, the U.N. is to become the chief guarantor of a non-nuclear and non-violent world.

In his article, "The realities and guarantees of a secure world," written on the occasion of the opening of the 42nd session of the General Assembly (September 1987),Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,disclosed the Soviet approach to the shaping of the all-embracing international security system.

The Soviet initiative has been approved by the General Assembly, which has decided to continue to discuss it at the present session.

May I also remind the reader of the Soviet proposals resolutely to step up the activity of the Military Staff Committee, and to set up, under the aegis of the United Nations, a mechanism of wide-scale international control over the observance of the agreements on reducing international tensions and limiting arms. It is precisely these mechanisms and procedures (U.N.-sponsored ones, above all) essential for the fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by various states that can really add much to the effectiveness of the United Nations.

The U.S.S.R. has contributed towards such mechanisms and procedures by its suggestions that the U.N. should take collective action for peace, that it should build up a naval force of its own, if necessary, and that the U.N. Secretary-General should have under him a multilateral control centre. This would enable the Secretary-General promptly to send missions to areas of international conflict and render the parties to bilateral and regional agreements assistance in the field of control. On the basis of the reports of these missions, the U.N. Secretary-General would conduct consultations with interested states and use his right to invoke the Security Council.

Many other Soviet proposals and those of other countries, Western ones included (for instance, the French idea of establishing an International Agency on the Space Observation) found no reflection in the report.

The problems involved in improving the work of the United Nations are complex and varied. They should certainly be tackled jointly by all the U.N. member states. These problems must be solved, for plain common sense insists that every effort be made to prevent war-related disasters – a nuclear holocaust above all. The U.N. is called upon to play a crucial role in pursuing this aim.

Progress in the sphere of disarmament and normalizing international relations will inevitably put an end to the principles of deterrence, lend more efficacy to political and legal means of adjusting international relations, and make for ever stricter adherence to the U.N. Charter along the lines of the new thinking.

■

The price of disarmament

Wouldn't it be a marvellous idea to use the funds now devoured by armaments to improve living conditions for the poor and overcome economic backwardness? Unfortunately this is not always understood by the very people who stand to gain from such a redistribution of resources. Why?

In downtown New York a short lean man pointed to my U.N. lapel pin and asked me bluntly: "Why is your disarmament struggle bringing no practical results for ordinary people like me? There was détente in the 1970s, and arms control and scores of other Soviet-American agreements were concluded. So what? Workers are still being fired, and prices are still soaring. Now we've concluded a treaty on the abolition of intermediate-range missiles with the Soviets. And we've got nothing again. Moreover, there's talk of impending crisis and more redundancies. The White House is reassuring us by saying that our security has increased. But you know, it's small comfort to a man if he has nothing to eat and has no home."

I tried to object, but he stopped me with a gesture, and went away.

Will there be social and economic returns on disarmament? Can it bring dividends that will be used on people's welfare, or is it going to lose money?

A ten-year road

These questions have been discussed at international forums, in particular the United Nations, for many years. Of the 15 U.N. special General Assembly sessions held so far, three have dealt with the overriding issue of today – disarmament.

The first session, held in 1978, reached a consensus on a comprehensive disarmament strategy and worked out a set of principles and immediate tasks in this field. The final document adopted by the session called on U.N. members for a gradual reduction of military expenditure on a mutually agreed basis – in physical or percentage terms.

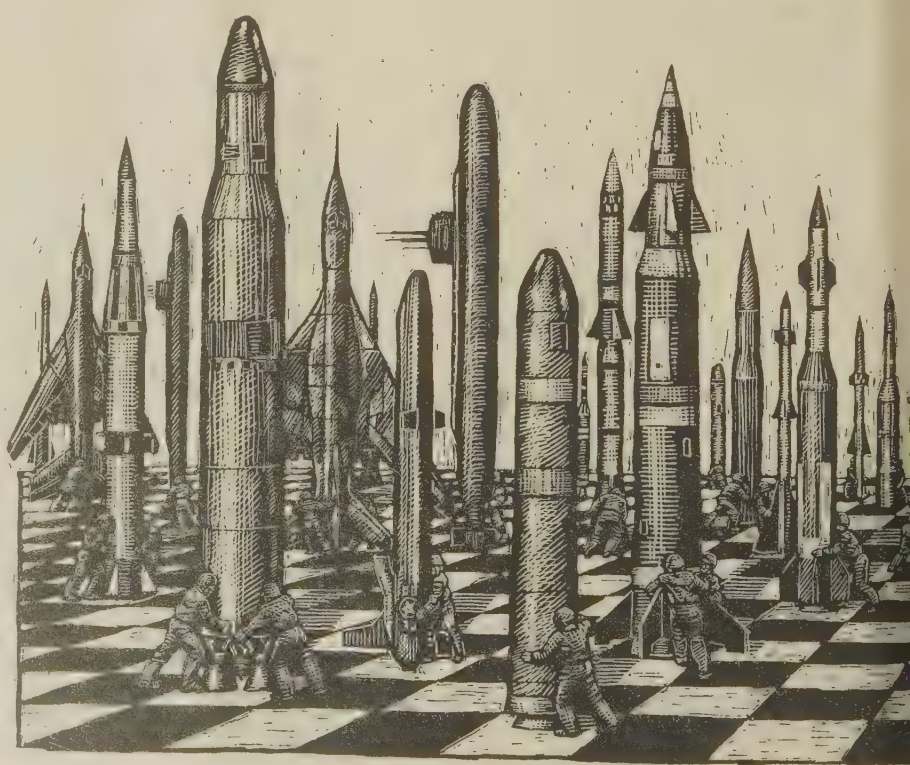
As a result of world tensions in the early 1980s, the second session, held in 1982, was unable to develop the ideas of the first forum. Delegates failed to agree on two main items on the agenda: the evaluation of the events since the first special General Assembly session, and the content of a comprehensive disarmament programme.

No wonder some countries voiced grave doubts as to the prospects of a third U.N. special disarmament session. It was with great difficulty that an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development was convened in New York late in summer of 1987. The conference was the first multilateral forum to consider the economic aspects of disarmament in their entirety. True, the United States did not take part in the forum. Forgetting one of the main provisions of the document adopted by the first session, Washington declared that it saw no connection between disarmament and development.

Nevertheless, the conference approved a document which further elaborated the economic problems of disarmament. The document stated – for the first time since the Soviet-American talks on the restriction of the arms trade had been suspended in 1978 – that the adverse consequences for development of the arms trade far exceed the advantages accruing to arms dealers.

The forum called for a practical study of the possibility of converting arms production facilities to civil purposes, and an exchange of the experience acquired by individual countries in this sphere. It was stressed that as many countries as possible should provide the U.N. with objective information about their military budgets. Delegates agreed on the need to study the idea of establishing a U.N. control mechanism over trends in military spending.

Such are the results achieved by the U.N. in assessing the economic potential of disarmament. The need to make effective use of this potential is the source of the movement for a world without arms initiated by the INF treaty.



China's contribution

The third U.N. special General Assembly session on disarmament, held in May-June of this year, greatly differed from the two previous ones. Almost all the delegations took part in the discussion of the economic aspects of disarmament. The position of the socialist countries was set out in their joint memorandum "Security through disarmament." This states that a reduction in armaments and armed forces should go hand in hand with a reduction in military expenditure, and that the funds thus saved should not be used for military purposes.

The socialist countries favoured the adoption of principles to regulate moves by states in the freezing and curtailing of their military expenditure – a measure that could facilitate talks on the subject.

Recent disarmament measures, the Soviet delegation pointed out, have already made considerable funds available to meet our own increased social needs. The experience so far acquired stimulates our insistence on promoting the idea of creating a disarmament for development fund. Moscow has repeated its initiatives for a thorough study of conversion from military to civilian production, the drawing up of appropriate plans at local and national level, and for a detailed examination of the economic aspects of disarmament at the Gorbachev-proposed summit of the Security Council's permament members. The Soviet representatives also declared that when conditions for a realistic comparison of military spending arose the U.S.S.R. would provide data about its military expenditure in accordance with the standard form accepted in the U.N., and join the United Nations in its work of comparing military budgets.

China has made public its practical steps in the field of disarmament. P.R.C. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said recently that last year his country unilaterally cut down on its armed forces by a million men. Many airfields and naval ports had been fully or partially regeared to civilian needs, and a large number of munitions factories had been converted to the production of socially useful goods. Between 1979 and 1988 the proportion of defence expenditure in the state budget had dropped from 17.5 to 8 per cent. China's military spending now comes to only 5.5 million dollars a year, or about five dollars per head of the population. The figures speak for themselves.

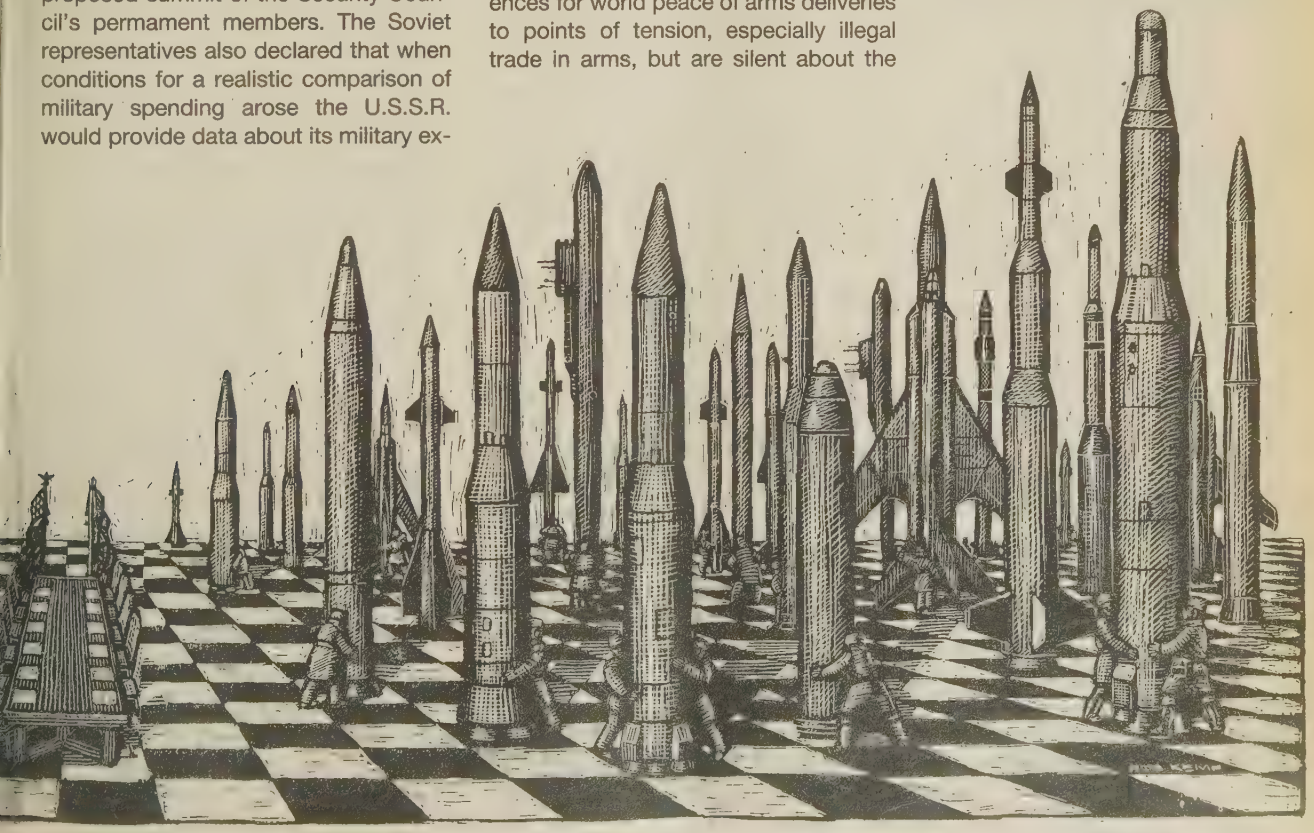
We'll wait for you to disarm

The developing nations came in for sharp criticism in the course of debates at the special session. The fact is that they are being drawn into the arms race on an increasingly wide scale. The positions of these nations on most of the economic problems of disarmament are inconsistent. For instance, the non-aligned countries acknowledge the adverse consequences for world peace of arms deliveries to points of tension, especially illegal trade in arms, but are silent about the need to restrict or ban the arms trade.

True, judging from the speeches of their delegates, a number of developing countries disapprove of the arms trade. For instance, Colombia pressed for the adoption of measures to check the growing illegal trade in weapons, and the Philippines suggested that collective efforts be taken to restrict arms dealings. In the view of Bolivia, the United Nations should take multilateral measures to ban the sale of all weapons. The Ecuadorean delegate spoke of the equal responsibility of arms manufacturers and consumers, pointing out that the sale of arms to Third World nations should be curtailed. While supporting a reduction in arms trading, the Nigerian delegate was silent about the importance of slashing arms purchases. Costa Rica called for economic sanctions against arms producing countries, but did not insist on the introduction of sanctions against purchasers.

In short, the developing states hold divergent views on the arms trade, and many of them are not yet ready to participate unreservedly in the campaign to ban the international trade in arms.

With regard to the relationship between disarmament and development, the representatives of Third World nations express hopes for the creation of a fund for the resources released by disarmament. It is believed, however, that the



lion's share of contributions to the fund would have to be made by industrial states.

In fact, no developing country expressed its readiness to transfer to the disarmament for development fund some of the resources to be saved by the reductions in their own arms spending and arsenals. Only Afghanistan proposed freezing the arms spending of the developing nations at their present level with the aim of curtailing them later, while the Peruvian delegates urged the other Latin American countries to begin talks on limiting their military spending.

But most non-aligned nations paid no heed to these calls. The question of converting the military industry to civil needs was broached only by the Filipino delegation which suggested that the U.N. act as a consultative centre in this field. The other developing nations side-stepped the question, apparently believing that only industrial states should concern themselves with conversion.

The third U.N. special General Assembly session on disarmament has shown that the majority of developing states are not yet willing to take their share of responsibility for the economic burden of the arms race. They regard disarmament as the almost exclusive concern of the industrial countries from which they expect additional resources for development.

But it is generally recognized that the developing countries badly need funds. Their poverty-stricken people do not have enough while, at the same time, considerable sums are squandered on arms.

Partial measures

At the session the Western countries did not submit any joint document worthy of note, and they expressed widely differing views on the subject. The U.S. position was criticized not only by the Scandinavian countries but also by such NATO allies as Holland, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany, who called for vigorous measures to ban the militarization of outer space and restrict naval armaments. At the same time, the discussion on the economic aspects of disarmament revealed that most Western states are trying to substitute partial measures for a comprehensive approach.

Pointing out that the appropriation of funds for swords or for ploughshares is a sovereign right of every country, the U.S. delegate cited data on growing arms deliveries to the Third World worth 128 billion dollars in 1977-81 and 180 billion dollars in 1982-86. The French, West German and Canadian delegates said that member countries should report to the U.N. Secretary-General on their military expenditures. Luxemburg came out in favour of an agreement on the reduction of military budgets in an atmosphere of openness, especially between the countries with the largest defence bills.

France proposed setting up a U.N. body to monitor different countries' arms spending. Italy, Sweden and New Zealand argued strongly for restrictions on the arms trade. Moreover, New Zealand backed the U.N. Secretary-General's call to limit the proliferation of the most dangerous types of conventional weapon and not to supply developing countries with weapons they do not need for their defence.

Of all the Western delegates, only the French representative spoke directly of the relationship between disarmament and development. He proposed estimating the sums involved over the next decade by agreements on the prohibition of chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional armaments and nuclear disarmament. France also proposed that disarmament agreements should include provisions on the redistribution of the resources released and that the armed forces of different countries, their manpower and technical potential should be used for the needs of development and for humanitarian aid.

This divergence in views, the serious contradictions in the positions of various countries, did not enable the third U.N. special session on disarmament to adopt a joint document, though several drafts had been prepared by the chairman. In the opinion of the socialist countries, these drafts could provide a good basis for consensus. Does this mean that the session ended in failure?

What should the world economy be like?

Heated debates at the U.N. General Assembly session brought quite a few surprises and perhaps disappointments. But though no final document was adopted, the results of the special session can hardly be described as a failure. It was a laboratory of new political thinking, a unique venue revealing points of contact in the complex issues of disarmament.

The positions of the socialist countries on the economic aspects of disarmament, gradually being relieved of old dogmas and stereotypes, enabled them to discover countries holding the same views on many questions.

No less important is the fact that the session also highlighted the weak points in the effort to bring out and use the economic potential of disarmament. The main weak point is, in my view, the absence in practically all countries of a well-thought-out concept of the relationship between the demilitarization of the world economy and the promotion of world economic ties.

Such a concept could form the basis for practical measures to strengthen that confidence and openness in interstate relations that would guarantee an end to the arms race. The discussion of separate questions – the reduction of military budgets, conversion, disarmament and development, and the restriction of the arms trade – has not yet given an answer to the cardinal issue: what will the world economy be like without arms?

A paradoxical situation emerges. Though mankind will admittedly be unable to resolve its social and economic problems in conditions of military confrontation, no one has as yet tried to devise a mechanism for resolving them in the event of disarmament being achieved. And it is to be hoped that disarmament is not far distant.

The four-per-cent reduction in nuclear arsenals took economists unawares to such an extent that no one of them could immediately assess the cost of the measure and the saving to be effected. Their position will be further complicated if agreements are reached on a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic weapons, the abolition of chemical weapons, cuts in conventional armaments, and other tangible political moves towards disarmament.

The advance towards disarmament is likely to require a whole infrastructure comparable with the present war machinery. What will be the balance of benefits and expenses? Can it be that we shall have to pay for the reduction and scrapping of arsenals instead of actually saving money?

I believe that the Soviet Union, the first country to propose devising an economic model of the world in conditions of disarmament, and to formulate and exchange national plans for the conversion of military production, could also initiate the elaboration of a concept for the demilitarization of the world economy. The United Nations could play a considerable role here by combining current and planned research in the field of disarmament economics under its aegis. There is also an appropriate mechanism for the purpose – the U.N. Institute for Disarmament Research, in which all the interested countries could take part.

The real social and economic returns on disarmament are better than the most attractive political slogans. They could advance the ideas of a world without arms and create mass support for them, support from the man in the street.

Alexei Kireyev
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)
NEW YORK – MOSCOW

Can big money buy everything?

Nikolai Sakharov,
Cand.Sc. (Hist.)

The usual scheme does not explain why many multimillionaires have never succeeded in winning the U.S. presidency.

Some of the multi-millionaires who have attempted to run for the presidency have been press baron Frank Gannett, railway magnate Averell Harriman and banker Nelson Rockefeller. These aspirants had unlimited financial resources with which to drum up support in their campaigns. However, none of them even managed to secure their party's nomination. In the recent past, Texas millionaire John Connally suffered the same fate. At the initial stage of the 1980 presidential campaign he was ahead of all other contenders in the size of his election fund. But shortly afterwards the Texas aspirant withdrew from the race. Early this year Pierr Dub-Pont IV dropped out of the presidential campaign. This Republican multimillionaire was unable to win substantial support from the electorate.

Money is not the only factor

In presidential election campaigns, the Republicans usually have a considerable financial advantage over the Democrats. Nonetheless, in the 43 postwar years the Democrats have held the presidency for 20 of them. Though the great majority of corporation owners, the principal donors in the election, back Republican candidate George Bush, his rival, the Democratic leader Michael Dukakis, has good chances of success. It appears that big money, as the massive campaign spending is called in the United States, is not always a decisive factor in the contest for the presidency.

True, the aphorism "money is the mother's milk of politics" has been engendered by the practice of election battles in the United States. Without considerable financial support, no presidential contender can hope to be regarded as a national political figure in an election year. Therefore practically all Democrats and Republicans running for the presidency are themselves wealthy men or rely on the powerful financial support of influential business quarters. A classic example in this respect was provided by multimillionaire John Kennedy, whose family invested heavily in his political career. It will be recalled, however, that John Kennedy became President against the wishes of most American businessmen who had donated to the election fund of his rival, Richard Nixon, and voted for him.

Thus, the amount of money spent by this or that candidate is an important but not the sole decisive factor. It should be noted that the laws adopted in 1976 have substantially changed the forms and methods of financing the presidential campaigns. In the good old days financial and industrial barons granted their favourites lavish donations without any restrictions. In the 1972 presidential campaign, for instance, Richard Nixon's election fund received more than two million dollars from Chicago financier Clement Stone and over a million dollars from Richard Scaife of the Mellon family. Nixon won the election, but the subsequent Watergate scandal revealed not only his illegal actions as President, but also the corruption that had pervaded the electoral system at all levels.

In the atmosphere of public indignation caused by the scandal, the liberal democratic forces, who had long been agitating for a restriction on the influence money had on election results, considerably strengthened their positions, and laws regulating the entire process of financing the presidential election were adopted. At present, a citizien of the United States, even a multimillionaire, is not formally allowed to donate more than 1,000 dollars to the election fund of any contender.

If banks, companies, trade unions, political or public organizations want to give financial support to a candidate, each of them must form a political action committee for this purpose. The committees then register with the Federal Election Commission, which regulates the financing of election campaigns. However, a committee and its sponsors can donate no more than 5,000 dollars to a presidential candidate's election fund. In other words, wealthy individuals and large companies are no longer able to channel hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of dollars directly into the election funds of "their" presidential candidates, as they did in the past.

Money and law

An important component of the law is the partial, or public, financing of the presidential election. The voluntary taxes make up a fund controlled by the Federal Election Commission, which decides who of the presidential contenders should be granted federal subsidies for their election campaigns, as well as the size of the subsidies.

A presidential contender will be entitled to a subsidy for his campaign in the primaries if he raises an election fund of no less than 100,000 dollars with the help of his supporters. The money should be collected in no fewer than 20 states, and at a given stage in the campaign each

contribution should not exceed 250 dollars. In this way the laws seek to neutralize the political influence of big money and at the same time reward only those contenders who have a sufficiently broad grassroots support on a nationwide scale.

The size of an election fund is not, however, a major obstacle to a relatively well-known politician. At the beginning of the presidential campaign this year, all the 13 Republican and Democratic aspirants reported to the Federal Election Commission that each of them had raised more than 100,000 dollars. In accordance with the law, the Treasury Department paid them a total of 64.4 million dollars prior to the primaries.

The five-per-cent barrier is an insurmountable obstacle for presidential candidates nominated by other parties, depriving them of the right to a federal subsidy. In this way the present law on the financing of election campaigns preserves the domination of the two-party system. In effect, subsidies go only to Republican and Democratic contenders.

Under the law, presidential contenders either give up the right to a federal subsidy, and then acquire the right to spend unlimited funds on their election campaigns, or receive subsidies and restrict their campaign expenditure by a fixed ceiling until the national party conventions. The ceiling changes from year to year in line with inflation. This year it was

It is important to note that the size of federal subsidies to contenders varies according to their election funds. As a result, though many presidential contenders get subsidies, the financial advantage is retained by those who have the largest funds. This advantage was fully exploited by Michael Dukakis and George Bush.

A fedeal subsidy can be granted only to a contender whose party took no less than five per cent of the vote in the previous presidential election. In the postwar years such a number of votes was received only twice by presidential candidates who did not represent the Republican or Democratic party: George Wallace, who was nominated in the 1968 election by the reactionary American Independent Party, and John Anderson, who enjoyed the reputation of a liberal Republican and ran as an independent in the 1980 election.

27.6 million dollars, inclusive of subsidy, per candidate.

In the course of the primaries George Bush spent nearly all his funds long before the Republican Party convention and even had to trim down his election budget. At the same time, Michael Dukakis used his limit to a lesser extent and secured a certain financial advantage over his rival at this stage in the presidential campaign.

Restrictions and loopholes

Partial financing extends to other stages in the presidential race. Each of the two parties now gets a federal subsidy to help cover the costs of its national convention. In the current election campaign, the Democratic and Republican parties each received 9.2 million dollars for the purpose. As for the candidates, the law says that they should meet their campaign expenses from their own funds up to the end of the party conventions.

After the contenders have been officially nominated at their respective conventions they receive one final federal subsidy. For instance, Dukakis and Bush were each awarded 46.1 million dollars after their party conventions. According to the law, a presidential candidate's campaign expenses should not greatly exceed these grants. At the final stage of the campaign, he is allowed to spend only the additional funds raised by his supporters, and not more than 50,000 dollars from his own resources. The last-mentioned restriction prevents candidates from using their family's money, as was the case with Harriman, Rockefeller, Kennedy and other members of super-rich clans.

Moreover, the presidential candidates have to declare their incomes and sources, and these data appear in the press. Throughout the campaign, their election treasurers regularly inform the Federal Election Commission of all donations and expenses.

On the whole, the present system of financing presidential campaigns is intended in large measure to equalize the financial possibilities of candidates and protect the election process from the excessive domination of big money. However, the present legislation has not a few loopholes that enable presidential candidates to use large sums far exceeding the fixed limit.

For instance, many wealthy people and political action committees are registered as "independent," that is, not officially connected with any of the presidential contenders or their election funds. This status allows them to spend unlimited sums in the course of election campaigns on political activity in favour of one or other contender. Recently, ultra-right-wing groups of various hues have been especially active in posing as independents. In the 1980 presidential election, for instance, such "independents" spent upwards of 12 million dollars on the Reagan campaign.

The sums allotted by the parties' national election committees are a further important source of financing for presidential contenders. True, restrictions have been imposed in this field as well. The party committees are permitted to allocate only a fixed sum to contenders. In

the current election, it comes to 8.3 million dollars. At the same time, these bodies are allowed to collect and spend unlimited sums on party work in the course of election campaigns, including such activities as registering voters, distributing campaign material and holding rallies and public meetings.

The millions of dollars spent by the Republican and Democratic parties in a presidential election year are used not just to back their candidates to Congress and local government bodies, but also to drum up electoral support for their leaders, the presidential candidates.

The President's image

It has turned out, however, that greater financial support does not entirely guarantee victory in a presidential election. In the opinion of veteran political analyst Fred Barnes, editor of New Republic, the personality of a candidate is a very important factor in deciding the outcome of the election. A candidate should know what to say and be able to express it, Barnes writes. He should appear calm when under stress and be attractive.

In other words, a candidate should have an image. In the age of television an advantage is gained by a politician who is telegenic and inspires confidence. Many Americans make the final decision only after television debates between candidates, which have become a regular feature of U.S. presidential elections over the past few decades. Moreover, what is most important to them is not the candidate's programme, but his appearance, his ability to behave and his sense of humour. It should be said, however, that the factors making up the traditional stereotype of a "U.S. President" are no longer as rigid as they were only recently.

Freedom of morals or morality

It was believed in the past that a presidential candidate had to be a Protestant. The Catholic faith of John Kennedy created some difficulties for him in the 1960 election. Twenty-eight years later Americans can accept the fact that Michael Dukakis belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church, while his wife is a practising Jew.

It was also believed that the reputation of a contender was seriously damaged if he was divorced. In the 1964 election this fact undermined the chances of Nelson Rockefeller, who in the end was unable to get his candidacy put forward. But in the 1980 election Ronald Reagan, married for the second time, won a confident victory over James Carter, who constantly stressed his morality.

At the same time, most Americans expect presidential contenders to adhere firmly to family principles. The charge of infidelity finally compelled Gary Hart to drop out of the running in the 1988 election. But, as opinion polls show, the ability to be a leader exercising firm, wise and responsible guidance of the country remains the principal quality for a presidential candiate.

The political situation, that is the alignment of political forces in an election year, is also an important factor in the outcome of elections. In the opinion of American political scientists, the majority of voters in the United States hold centrist positions. But under the influence of domestic or international events in an election year, public feeling can swing to the right or the left.

The degree of influence and activity of the ultra-right, liberal circles and progressive democratic forces during the campaign also plays a considerable part. All these forces contribute to financing election campaigns. Not only large corporations but also some major trade unions donate money. For that reason a presidential candidate who can feel the nation's pulse in an election year and turns it to his account always has better chances of success.

A great deal also depends on the efficiency of the candidates' election teams. Today they include numerous consultants, public relations advisers, speech writers, advisers in drawing up schedules for campaign tours, fund raising and working out political strategy and tactics. The maintenance of these teams requires big sums, as do televised addresses, opinion polls, the distribution of promotional pamphlets and other election activity. The larger the sums he spends on the campaign, the better a candidate's chances of winning voters.

* * *

As before, money still plays a considerable part in the race for the presidency. But money alone, no matter how much is spent on the campaign, is obviously not enough to win. The election is won by the candidate who effectively combines a number of factors. Without taking these factors into account it is impossible to understand the comlex and many-faceted process of electing a president in the United States.

Drawing from Süddeutsche Zeitung
(F.R.G.)

READ NEW TIMES IN GREEK

Since January 1988 New Times has been published monthly in Greek by Nei Keri Elladas, EPE, Athens.

If you wish to take a yearly subscription to the Greek-language edition, send a 20-dollar cheque to Nei Keri Elladas, EPE, Nikis 24, 105 57 Athens, or transfer the above sum to its account No. 104/470838-57 in the National Bank of Greece S.A., Syntagma Sq. branch 10, 6 Karageorghi Servias Str., indicating your name, address and telephone No.

Yearly subscription: 20 U.S. dollars

Price of one issue: 1.60 U.S. dollar (postage included)

All the previous issues of the Greek-language edition can be ordered.

Nikis 24, 105 57, Athens, Greece
Tel: 3257392, 3233463
Nei Keri Elladas EPE

LOOKING BACK...

Vadim Zagladin

Dear friend,

Back home after our long talks, I have pondered all we discussed so frankly and in a truly comradely way, and decided to write this open letter.

Our first subject, as you may recall, was history: specifically, the discussion, now in progress in the Soviet Union, of some problems pertaining to the past of our Party and our country. As I see, this discussion goes on among your comrades, too. Therefore, what we have talked about may be of interest not only for the two of us, but the general public as well.

If I remember right, you started the conversation with the following phrase: "I wish your perestroika every success, but I fear lest the excessive exposure of the ulcers of the past should harm it."

I presume that you and other friends of ours who show interest in these problems do wish our perestroika a success and want socialism to make further progress. But what does it take to make this progress? A great deal.

To begin with, it takes the completion of the economic, political and legal reforms now under way, and the democratization of our society at all levels. Besides, it calls for each Soviet cizizen's greater social involvement and, particularly, honest and conscientious work.

It is common knowledge, however, that the measures being taken towards these ends have not produced the desired results as yet. Actually, it's too early to expect the results because perestroika is a process, and a complicated one at that. Besides, the reforms come up against all sorts of obstacles which slow them down, and without overcoming which we shall make no further headway.

And now let us ask ourselves: can we overcome the obstacles rooted deep in the past, unless we sort out the past, deal with it honestly, openly, without diplomatic niceties and cunning tricks? All the more so since the past lets itself felt to this day in the minds, habits, acts of even the upright persons devoted to socialism.

Indeed, it is absolutely necessary for us to look back to our own history, so as to see the sources of our real achievements, and to find out why we haven't done all we could, or why we have done certain things all wrong.

We certainly want to avoid relapsing into what we have gone through, but the danger and, the main thing, the possibility of such a relapse have not yet been ruled out.

Much is being said everywhere about the need to study historical experience and to take it into account. Unfortunately, we often confine ourself to studying this experience without learning from it. In practice, we keep relapsing into old errors again and again. Man often behaves like a child who is told it's dangerous to play with fire, but who starts dreading it only after he actually gets his fingers burned. But society should know better. As it develops, society cannot go round in circles; history must not be allowed to repeat itself, expecially if it has seen not only triumphs but tragical events as well. Incidentally, these events have also taught us a lesson which is not to be forgotten.

We certainly want to avoid relapsing into what we have gone through, but the danger and, the main thing, the possibility of such a relapse have not yet been ruled out.

This is evidenced by the letters newspaper and magazine editors get from their readers some of whom are still missing the practices and methods of old. We want to advance, not to retrace our steps. This is exactly why we seek to learn the whole truth about our past, no matter how bitter it may be, to learn all about our past with all its colours and hues. We are certain that glasnost as regards the present day, which we have opted for and which has your and all our friends' support, must also apply to the yesteryear.

You told me that although a nation should review its historical record from time to time, we are painting ours too black. New "discoveries" often amount to new tragical revelations. That, you told me, gave you problems because along with your closest friends you had always supported socialism, wished it well and publicized its achievements, and then it turned out all of a sudden that besides the achievements it had also had its difficulties and its tragedies. That made your friends wonder, you said, whether they were right in defending socialism and making propaganda for it, whether they had to do all that. Although I regard these questions as rather ill-considered, I'd like to make things clear.

Your comrades and you defended socialism, upheld its accomplishments and publicized them. You must agree with me that what you supported was not something bad or wrong, but something that propelled the society, created by the October Revolution, onward. Now let's ask ourselves: have the negative phenomena of those years, now disclosed, have cancelled our enormous achievements out? Does the fact that socialism had a dramatic history, with its ups and downs, reduce these achievements to nought? I am sure that you and your comrades will answer these questions in the negative, and quite rightly so.

Indeed, socialism has traversed a tortuous path. Its pioneering accomplishments, however, belong not only to it but also to the whole of the progressive world. What it has accomplished in the interests of man, for the sake of his present and his future, are tangible realities, real rather than imaginary gains of humankind. There is no doubt that modern social progress largely stems from the very existence of socialism, of the real breakthrough to new human values it has accomplished.

It is true that information on negative phenomena found in a number of new

Prof. Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head, the CPSU CC International Department.

publications kind of "sticks out". But this is partly due to the fact that the positive and brighter side of life under socialism has always been much in evidence, while the negative phenomena have been passed over in silence and concealed. What's more, knowing much more about the past and about its problems, we have a better idea of the hard conditions under which socialism developed, and of what every step forward cost it. But does this detract any from the weight and importance of its achievements? I think the reverse is true: the dimensions and the historic significance of the indisputable achievements of socialism are in direct proportion to the difficulties it encountered in its advance.

And another thing. As we peer into the past and study it, we discover not only injustices concomitant with Stalin's reign of terror. We also discover new names of heroes and builders of socialism who, although they did make mistakes, contributed greatly to what we have today.

As we rummage through the archives we discover a wealth of new information about the very sources of socialist creative endeavour, about our people's selfless work heroism, about the hitherto anonymous striking examples of our people's labour enthusiasm, about the heroic builders of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mills, the city of Komsomolsk, the Dneproges electric power station and the Kuzbas coal basin. We re-discover the brilliant ideas generated by our politicians and scientists undeservedly relegated to oblivion. As a result, we become all the richer, and see our enormous potentialities all the more clearly.

The bourgeois press passes these positive discoveries of ours over in silence. Is this really to be surprised at? Those who, by force of their ideological convictions, are not inclined to regard socialism as an achievement of civilization – let alone those who'd rather it dind't exist at all – will hardly write about the heroic pages of our history. They are trying, and will ever try, to glean from our publications only what, in their opinion, can do damage to socialism and to denigrate it – in your eyes, for instance. I realize full well that all this really gives your comrades and many our friends serious problems. Well, I think these are only transient problems; you and us are quite in a position to sort them out and to prevent ourselves from being led astray.

Let's face it, we have indeed failed to disclose the potentialities of socialism in full, to demonstrate all it can do. Nevertheless, I repeat, what has been done is evidence of its tremendous truly historic advantages. There is no denying this. On the other hand, now that we are honestly summing up our record using the truth as the only criterion of judgement, that we are looking for, and finding new potentialities of our society, that we are giving a critical analysis to the causes of our failures and setbacks and discovering new avenues of advance – effective, truly democratic, and genuinely humane – doesn't this mean that socialism is revealing its new qualities, and new sources of its viability? Doesn't it now demonstrate the aspects of its nature which reveal its potential for self-assessment and self-improvement? In the course of our discussion, you and I shared the conclusion that no other social system has ever been as self-critical as ours. This is a fact. Perestroika proves beyond doubt that self-criticism and self-exactingness are a vital source of socialism's strength and dynamism.

We must make it clear what happened, and why. Such a thorough analysis is still to be made. Hence the difficulties, the discord, contradictions and misunderstandings.

True, a mutual friend of ours I conversed with recently tried to reproach us of being critical only of the past – specifically, of the leaders who are no more. As to those in control today, they are allegedly beyond criticism. This is an unjustified reproach!

From the outside, you can't always see all that is happening here. But those who have a chance to acquaint themselves with our present-day reality at first hand will hardly deny the fact that we are critical not only of our past, but of our present as well. Examples abound, the most striking of them all being the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It was not the past but the present that the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the other speakers at the Conference criticized. That was both criticism, including that levelled against the Party and government leaders, and self-criticism. As you probably noted, in cases when a speaker tried to confine himself to criticism but shunned self-criticism, the audience took him most skeptically.

Admittedly, it happened in the past that speaking of criticism and self-criticism as the motive force of our society, we reduced both to generalities and sought out a "fall-guy" to heap all the blame on. Is this the case now, too? Sometimes it is, but on ever rarer occasions. This tendency causes an open resentment on the part of public opinion, hard-hitting remarks in the press, and the appropriate response from the Party and government leaders. Frankly speaking, all this is not always of help (old habits die hard), but I am positive that with the passage of time, as democratization goes deeper, this approach to criticism and self-criticism will be changing. Criticism will indeed become a material stimulus to advance.

When we were dicussing our press publications with you, you remarked several times that we in the Soviet Union often overdo in commenting on certain pages of our history. While engaging in criticism, you said, some authors have too little if anything to say about the historic achievements of socialism. The result is a distorted picture of Soviet history.

Well, we overdo it sometimes. Considering certain subjective factors, one can understand the comrades committing this "sin". Indignation at the injustices of the past, and eagerness to prevent relapses into them sometimes cause excessive emotions. With ever new episodes and documents of the past emerging from obscurity, one feels like over-dramatizing them so as to bring it home even to the general reader that there is no turning the clock back. As a result, this or that author sometimes goes too far.

But, again, one is to understand the people who are writing about all this: after all, they write not merely about the past, but about their own past. Some relate the tragedies experienced by their families, others feel for the tragedies of society. Nevertheless, to understand does not mean to agree.

One of the problems which give rise to discussions as a rule is the role, actions and personality of Stalin. This is certainly a problem not so easy to deal with for your friends, and still less so for us, for obvious reasons. In the period when Stalin was at the helm of the Party, our nation achieved enormous successes. Stalin himself played a no small role in that, expecially in the early post-Lenin years. In the same period, however, the face of socialism was deformed, and monstrous crimes were committed not merely against individuals, but against the nation as a whole, against our system. Although the events of that period can hardly leave anyone cold, they ought to be treated

with utmost objectivity. We do not always succeed in that.

I realize that those pages of our history are not to be approached simplistically, they call for a dialectical analysis. We must make it clear **what** happened, and **why**. Such a thorough analysis is still to be made. Hence the difficulties, the discord, contradictions and misunderstandings.

The disclosure of the truth leads to a situation where certain people look like turncoats considering what they wrote before, when they did not know the whole truth. Can one condemn them for that? Some of them may indeed be time-servers, which is unpardonable. But if you are bent on shedding the burden of the past and finding your way to the truth, you must be prepared to distinguish between real and sham values.

Just get me right: I am not trying to justify overstatements and exaggerations. It is my conviction that the analysis of the historical past must be soberminded and free of emotions. This must be precisely an analysis – emotions, no matter how one interprets them, are of no help, as a rule, in getting things into the right perspective. But I am certain of something else too – namely, that the said exaggerations will pass. As we gain more knowledge, everything will take its proper place and fit into the overall picture of the seventy-year period separating us from the October Revolution. Fully restored, this picture will make us proud, not ashamed, of our past.

You told me that we take different views of various historical issues. This is true. But can it possibly be otherwise? Our authors come up against problems and events previously unknown to them, which shed an entirely new light, at times, on certain periods of our past. Their interpretation takes on a subjective character. Hence the differences of our press opinion.

You can hardly expect unanimity, either, when it comes to the ways of solving our current practical problems. Discussions on these subjects invite different and even clashing points of view.

We all of us – yourself included – enthusiastically supported the possibility of voicing different viewpoints on the same issues. Without that, a free discussion is unthinkable. Unfortunately, we have all but forgotten how to discuss things, and got used, through the years, to the predominance of one opinion and one concept, as you and I noted in our conversation. What's happening here now is partly the legacy of that period of intellectual monotony and cliché worshipping. But this, too, is a transient phenomenon.

We shall certainly get accustomed to democratic discussions, and learn to conduct them in a civilized manner. This will help us, without a doubt, to restore the truth, the historical truth included, in all its aspects, with all its contrasting hues, and to do this objectively, from genuinely scientific positions.

One of our mutual friends, I forget his name now, asked me: "Why doesn't your Party put things in order? Why doesn't it offer an official interpretation of the past phenomena?" No hard feelings, but it seems to me that such questions stem exactly from the habit to toe the official line. The truth can be neither proclaimed, nor authorized from above. In the past – and that was one of its darker sides, incidentally – attempts were made to decree the truth.

The truth can be neither proclaimed, nor authorized from above. In the past – and that was one of its darker sides, incidentally – attempts were made to decree the truth.

The result was a departure from the truth, and a lag in science, historical science included.

Naturally, our Party takes a clear-cut stand on the issue of our past, among others. This stand was expressed, in particular, by Mikhail Gorbachev in his report on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the same report he admitted, in all frankness, that the quest had just begun, and its completion was still a long way off. The speaker encouraged a lively discussion of all the problems – current ones, long-standing, new, and emerging. I am sure that such an approach alone is consonant with the spirit and the historical mission of the Marxist party.

As you have probably noticed, erroneous – and not merely disputable – views expressed in the course of discussions are given a rebuff at an authoritative enough level, whenever necessary. There are indeed principles departing from which amounts to departing from our world outlook. There are criteria you cannot possibly denounce – unless, of course, you are prepared to denounce socialism as such. Upholding the principles and the criteria of principle is also an inalienable part of a discussion. This, however, does not rule out discussions and disputes.

There was another problem which popped up during our conversation. "You are having disputes in the Soviet Union, and I can understand that," you said. "But why do your comrades who go abroad and make reports there voice controversial ideas? Don't they understand that they create difficulties for us in this way?" I don't know what comrades you mean. I can certainly imagine some of them speaking with excessive emotion, voicing one-sided views, even erroneous ones. Naturally, their reports must be thoroughly thought-out, they must give foreign audiences objective accounts of our discussions and, naturally, not to pass their subjective views and opinions for those officially accepted in this country, let alone the ultimate ones. This also calls for culture and tact.

On the other hand, you and your comrades must realize that we cannot, and will not, have two truths – one for us, and the other – for our foreign friends. Because there is only one truth. To think how we all suffered in the past (and still suffer today) from the attempts to have two, or even three truths. We mustn't, we simply can't have any more of this.

May I also remind you of another thing our friends have probably not got accustomed to yet, either: those speaking in debate (and writing in the papers) express not the official viewpoint, but their own. Incidentally, our ideological opponents make active use of the fact that the friends of socialism habitually consider all the views here to be shared by our entire society – or even inspired by its leaders. Referring to this or that pronouncement (often controversial or downright misleading, to my mind), they seek to impress it on their readers and listeners that "Moscow is changing its line."

You told me you had your misgivings about certain things. I can understand you. But nobody prevents you from joining this discussion on an equal footing with its other participants. You are perfectly free to voice your views on the more crucial problems, including those related to our history.

Marxism – I mean the Marxism created by our great predecessors – is a science, a critical and self-critical science. But the whole point is that Marxist criticism is constructive, not destructive. It destroys and denounces all that is outdated and moribund for the sake of creating new values, for the sake of social and human progress, for the sake of man.

Dear friend, I am afraid I have not exhausted the whole range of questions we discussed with you. We shall come back to some of them later. So let us carry on our discussion, and may it also contribute towards the truth. ■

The importance of being different

Gennady Batygin

Today we have come to know more, to think more and to doubt more. Analyzing a past of heroism side by side with crime, we try to preserve our hopes for the future. The future is no longer seen as shining city communes where each works according to his abilities and gets according to his needs. We are more realistic in our assessment and our hopes.

The mid-1980s will go down in the country's history as a turning point. The main thing has happened: the individual no longer feels he is a faceless particle firmly embedded in a "monolithic whole." Therefore perestroika is not just a change in political orientations (such changes have occurred before). It has brought about a new mentality, and those whose mentality it is, will not necessarily enthuse about, and support, all directives; they will think a hundred times before voting and are not as ready to shout "Hurray!" as they used to be. They subject everything to analysis so that their every step forward be right and cosonant with the nation's overall progress.

Someone I met recently confessed (not too loudly, though) that he was opposed to perestroika.

"Are you just trying to be different, an 'odd-man-out'? We are all of us for perestroika, with only you against it."

The man objected to being called an "odd-man-out" on the grounds that he was not the only one to oppose perestroika.

He was an odd-man-out nonetheless. He made it quite clear to me that in his position it would be downright dishonest of him to call himself a supporter of perestroika – after all perestroika presupposes above all compatibility of words and actions.

The "odd-man-out" was a factory director. Previously, in the period of stagnation, he had done his job confidently and without overtaxing his brain. He used to solve his No. 1 problem – balancing production assets – with the help of friends in ministries and supply organizations, and he cultivated the components' suppliers. The situation was perfectly clear: if the speeches uttered from high platforms (a very special genre of oratory) were not to be taken seriously, words and actions were not at variance. Production plans, generally known to be unrealistic, were submitted to an industry, and every factory director knew that if he failed to make up for a shortfall in assets or get the plan adjusted, he might as well throw in the towel without further ado.

Now, with all this glasnost and perestroika, he went on, everything is chaotic... "My factory is now supposed to pay its way in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise, but assets are still as short as ever. Plans are submitted to us with dozens of target figures set, but we can't adjust them to our capabilities, as this practice now carries a severe punishment. There's nothing for it but to go at it three times as hard. Although we lack assets, we are expected to carry through perestroika, become honest and enterprising, feel free and in control, learn self-reliance and new economic thinking, and give up habitual stereotypes and administrative methods. Besides which we have to fulfil instructions from above, do only what is permitted and avoid any improvisations. In other words, we are to have our cake and eat it...

"Let's call a spade a spade," the "odd-man-out" told me. "While I am obliged to take instructions from above and remain a cog in the administrative machine, I am against perestroika, which sends the process of production management haywire and, moreover, makes people either two-faced or utterly confused."

"But you have to be realistic. You can't expect results overnight. And besides, aren't there already changes for the better?"

"That's not the point. In the stagnation period I, a mere cog, rotated under administrative pressure; now I have been ordered to rotate of my own accord, but in the same mode. Can you imagine an enterprising cog?"

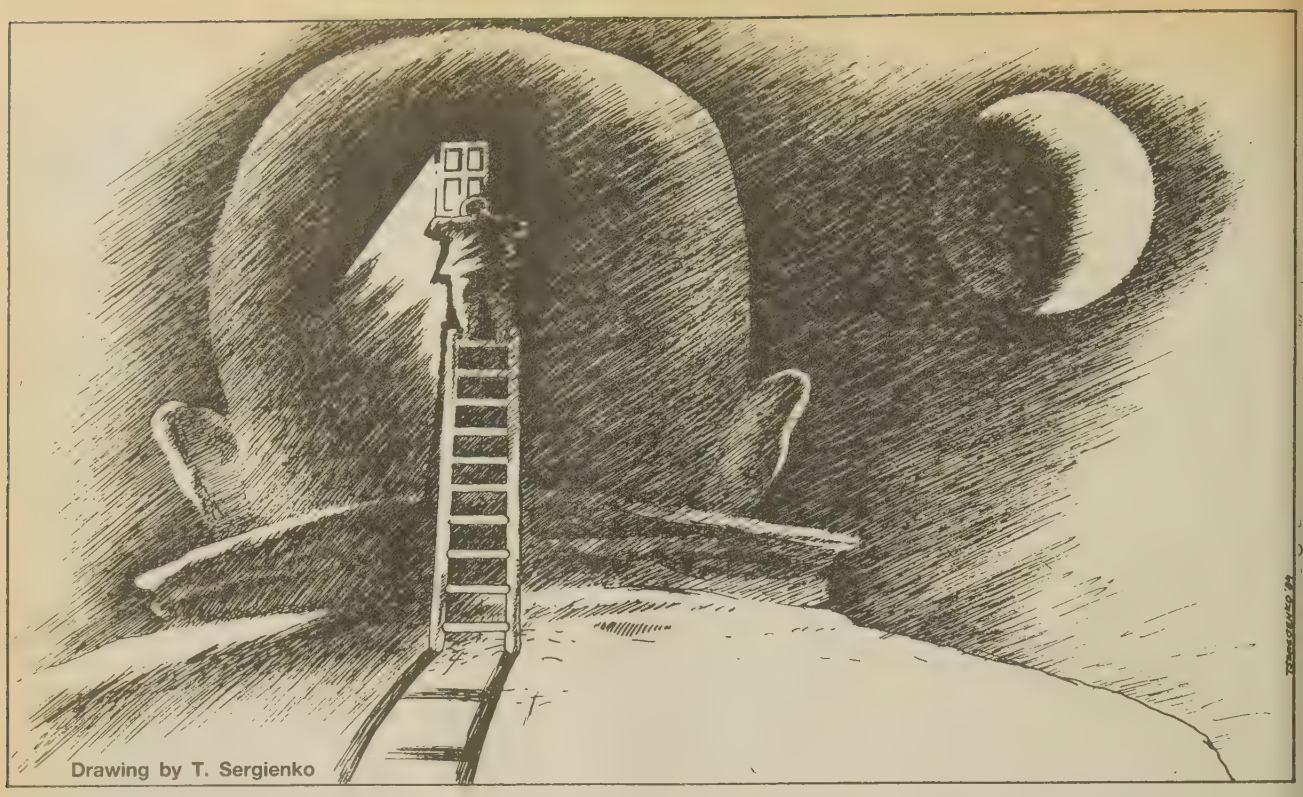
Does it pay to be obedient?

Utter confusion? Well, the reason perestroika is being described as revolutionary is because each of us should, drawing on his personal social experience, unravel the contradictions, choose his stand on his own, and not go back on it, whatever the fluctuations of the political barometer. Had it just been a question of a change of sets, the present situation would really have been nothing new, except that yesterday the sets depicted a sense of profound satisfaction and nationwide enthusiasm, and now they have criticism, self-criticism and glasnost written all over them.

There is a big difference, though: the new sets provide the background for real life in all its variety, a necessary condition of our common existence, the background for a situation where one can uphold one's opinion and where anyone has the right to voice the opposite view. This means, as well as everything else, that "conformists" are by no means indifferent to the rights of "non-conformists," much as the two categories may dislike each other. To speak plainly, one would like the opponents of perestroika to declare their views openly and honestly, without being afraid of coming under fire from the innovators. Judging by our papers' reaction to the article "I cannot abandon my principles" – first, a spell of tense and expectant silence followed by a squall of all conceivable and inconceivable accusations – all our people are for perestroika except Nina Andreyeva, "a chemist expressing the interests of some quarters. Actually, it is entirely possible that the most obstinate opponents of perestroika are to be found among those who clamour loudest for glasnost and democratization.

As it happens, perestroika has not put an end to window dressing. Many are going all out to picture themselves as victims of the Stalin regime. Many martyrs have come to the fore, allegedly persecuted for their convictions in the stagnation period, opponents of "Brezhnevism" who have finally lived to see perestroika and who are, naturally, the most fitting candidates for executive posts. In this sense the ideology and practice of perestroika benefit time servers. There is no bringing back the editor Tvardovsky, General Krylov of the Interior Ministry, the philosopher Ilyenkov, the farmer Khudenko and other talented people. It seems that their time – the time of the "odd-men-out" who used to stand

Gennady Batygin, D.Sc. (Phil.), Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the Sotsialisticheskiye Issledovaniya journal.



Drawing by T. Sergienko

out against the backdrop of monolithic unity – has come. They had a hard time then. And today some would think nothing of donning the togas of perestroika champions.

Eccentrics et al

The European tradition of dissent goes all the way back to ancient Greek culture when philosophers proclaimed internal independence – autarchy – their destiny and the meaning of their life. It was then, over two thousand years ago, that the following words were uttered: "We all of us are apt to accuse anyone and anything – any stranger, day, hour, place, old age, poverty – but not our own obstinacy and madness." This is why Diogenes claims he has heard the voice of vice: "Why should we blame anyone? We have only ourselves to blame for everything."

The fate of Giordano Bruno is a classic example and symbol of dissent at its most defiant.

Less well known but no less instructive is the fate of Marie Condorcet – the 18th century philosopher, aristocrat, intellectual and romantic who, by an irony of history, voluntarily joined those who first tried to realize lofty ideals through revolutionary violence. A man of honour and extraordinary kindness, he was one of the leaders of the French Revolution, but when blood began to flow he came out against the Convention and was accused of anti-Republican conspiracy. Pronounced "an enemy of the people," he tried to flee, but the vigilant populace arrested the suspicious "softie" and brought him before a revolutionary committee. Before facing his interrogators, the philosopher, who had been convinced to the last that logic and reason were enough to make mankind happy, poisoned himself. A volume of Horace was found on his body. A naive dreamer, he remained the "odd-man-out" among the revolutionaries; in his soul, moral principles prevailed over the inexorable "rationale" of violence.

Examples like that may seem too grim and harsh. They are extremes, of course. Dissidents are not necessarily persecuted. They may be treated as eccentrics or even "nutters," but this does not make much difference: society all but ostracizes them and marvels at their maladjustment. Here is how another "odd-man-out" is described by a contemporary: "All those who knew Lobachevsky well as a person loved and respected him, but mentioned his imaginary geometry with smile of condescending pity for the eccentric scientist."

All three people mentioned above have much in common (except that Lobachevsky went all the way to the rank of counsellor of state and died in his bed). What set them apart from most of their contemporaries was not what they preached – new laws of celestial mechanics, respect for human rights or a new concept of parallel lines (after all, none of this is worth a human life) – but their aversion to the commonplace. The result was having to live with the curse of Cain.

This is at once a human tragedy and one of life's eternal ironies. Time goes on, and another brilliant idea occurs to someone, and while the "normal" community prides itself on having attained the much-coveted truth, unlike its clever but too unilluminated predecessors, another "odd-man-out" lurks somewhere in a dark corner living with the curse of Cain. Times and generations change, but some unknown force continues to reproduce this pattern, and everything endlessly repeats itself.

What about you?

Few people go down in history and find their way into encyclopedias. All the rest constitute the human mass in which individual destinies are indistinguishable – but only to someone who ranks too high or is too obsessed with an idea to care. On the other hand, anyone with enough experience of living will have observed this "irony of life" on many fleeting and mundane occasions. If you are observant enough, you will always spot those referred to as "the light of the world," whether shining brightly or merely glimemring.

Here is an incident that occurred quite recently. On a bright sunny day post-graduates at one of the Interior Ministry's higher schools were taking an examination in philosophy. The examinees were not mere youngsters. Investigators, detectives, forensic experts, they knew more about life than any philosophical dictionary could tell them... A captain from Tbilisi was asked to give a philosophical-sociological assessment of Stalinism. He was brief and to the point as he summarized articles by Volkogonov and Burlatsky and then proceeded to "Children of the Arbat."

"What's your personal attitude to Stalin?, a colonel seated at the other side of the table asked him with a smile.

The captain was silent... After what seemed an eternity, he finally said, softly: "I respect Stalin... I have his portrait at home..."

The case of a militia officer admitting to his respect for Stalin may not be typical. Today we level bitter criticism at Stalin and regard his supporters, with reason, as opponents of perestroika. But the incident at the examination shows that the irony I've discussed above is still at work. Whether the captain is right or wrong does not much matter in this context. What matters is that he had the courage to speak his mind regardless of the likely consequences. No one would condemn him to the stake, of course, but getting an unsatisfactory mark would also be an auto de fé of sorts. He could easily have saved himself any trouble by saying what he knew was the right thing to say. Paradoxically, the captain had predecessors – people who had refused to "expoose" those they believed in and who had perished in Stalin's dungeons for it. At the examination the captain tried to expiate, in his own small way, his compatriots' mortal sins. He found expiation in being honest, in making no secret of his allegiance to Stalin.

Ridding oneself of past disgrace is as difficult as pulling oneself up by the hair, and glasnost does not rid people of hypocrisy. Tacit expiation can be worth a thousand loud exposés.

History teaches us cruel lessons. Those obsessed with an idea and prepared to lay down their lives for it seem to merit forgiveness if only because they mean well. Today it is easy to judge those who premeditated crimes in their anti-bourgeois frenzy, but the principal and incredibly difficult task is to try to understand the logic behind the tragedy of "ultimate truth" having prevailed.

Professor Mikhail Raisner (LL.D.) was grotesquely and unaffectedly naive in his criticism of the Constitution of the Russian Federation adopted in 1918. "First of all," he wrote, "it hardly makes any sense to grant rights and freedoms to the working people in the Soviet Republic where all power belongs to the people anyway... Second, the proclamation of any individual and subjective rights contradicts the very spirit of our Constitution and of the Soviet system of government; such rights would be more in place in bourgeois constitutions, which proceed from the individual as a 'natural' human being with his inherent and inalienable rights and such like fictions of democratic ideology. We have no such 'sovereign individuals'; reigning supreme in our society is not 'me' but 'us', not the individual but the collective, not the citizen but the workers' society. And, when all is said and done, if the need arises for the collective to 'use' an individual 'comrade' of the socialist republic in some way or other, no personal inviolabilities or rights can serve as a barrier to the exercise of the 'full power' of the working people."

This lengthy quotation has not been picked out from a piece of extremist early post-revolutionary writing. It mirrors the attitude that predominated at the time. It was precisely the militant utopia which made a fetish of the "collective" and denied the individual, friend and foe alike, that determined the further development of historical events. The professor was hardly aware of his diabolical farsightedness in renouncing human rights; less than two decades later the country had turned into an archipelago of concentration camps in which millions of "individual comrades" – the finest sons and daughters of the people – were "used" in the interests of the whole nation and lost their lives to the "great construction projects" of the GULAG.

Do we have any grounds for doubting the sincerity of the tens of thousands of people who took to the streets demanding the death sentence for the "enemies of the people" – the leaders of the so-called Industrial Party then facing trial on charges of sabotage? Is there any reason to disbelieve the terse newspaper report published in 1938 under the heading "The will of the people has been fulfilled," which said: "All real supporters of democracy and freedom extend their heart-felt greetings to the glorious men of the People's Commissariat of the Interior headed by Nikolai Yezhov, a loyal Stalinist who have uncovered a rat hole of mercenary fascist agents."

There are no such grounds, and that we consider ourselves better informed, cleverer and more decent than the "supporters of democracy and freedom" of Yezhov's time does not at all mean that we have become different. In ancient times people used to pour ashes over their heads and weep in atonement for the sins of their remote forefathers which they regarded as their own and for which they did penance.

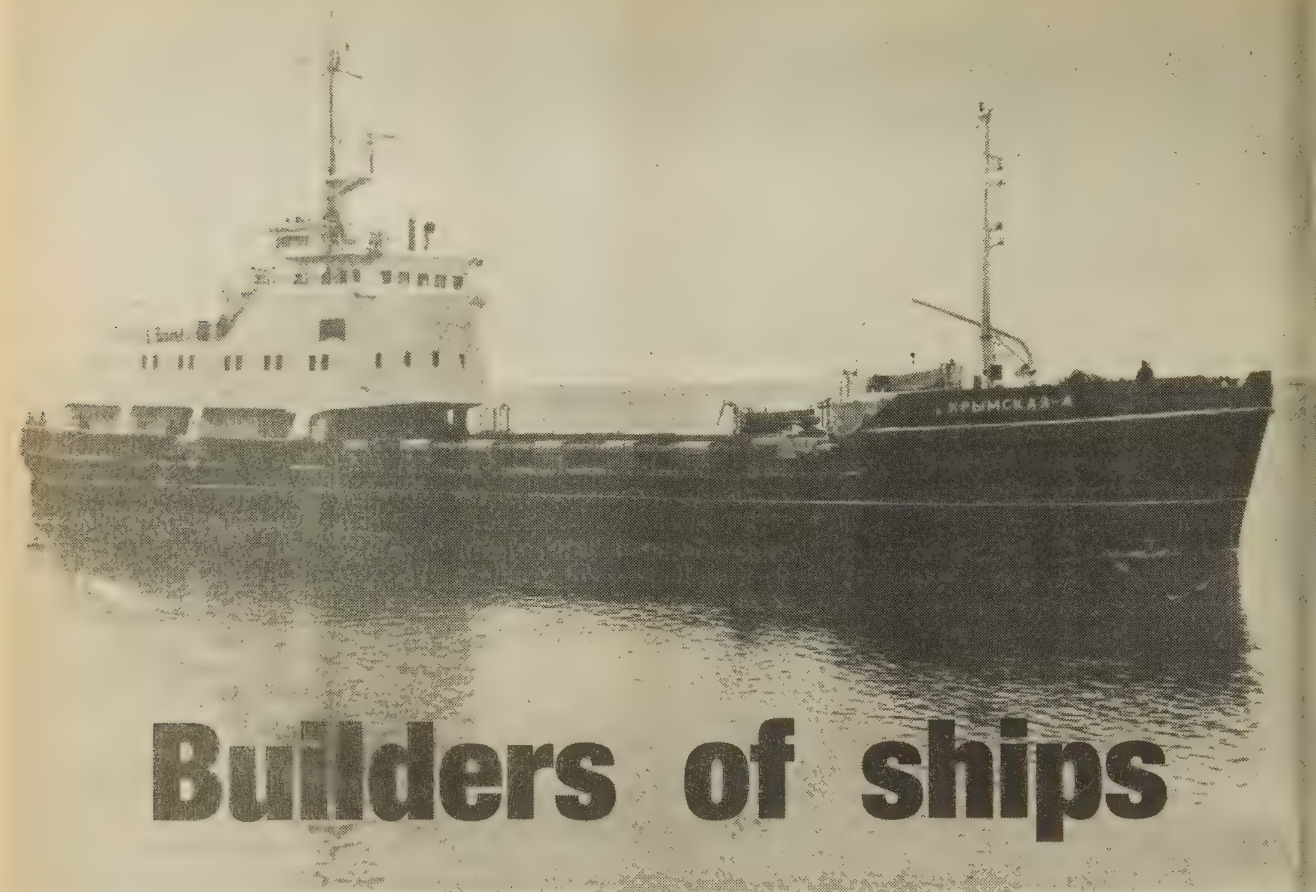
The simplest and most naive thing to do would be to find a "whipping boy" and pronounce him guilty of our past misfortunes. In fact, the worst misfortunes come from good rather than evil intentions and are caused by do-gooders resolved to make mankind happy. The wise man who said "there is nothing sillier than silliness itself" was probably right. Will the generations to come have a chance to rectify past mistakes? They will never break out of the vicious circle if it occurs to them one fine day that they are on the only correct path and that from now on all fishes must be queer (if not identical). And again they will be followed by cleverer, better informed and more decent generations full of righteous indignation at their predecessors' wrongdoings, and eager to redress them.

Those whose way of thinking differs from the ordinary are our only hope. It is precisely they who will restrain another "fighter for the nation's happiness" if he lets himself go – or tell him, at least: "Hold your horses!"

Bureaucracy has always used a peculiar standard of social selection, sorting the people out into those who "belong" (the right kind) and who don't (the wrong kind). The "right kind of people" sifted by this method of unnatural selection have an amazing amount in common: mode of behavior, speech inflexions, discreet manner, eagerness to please the boss. They seem to have come from an incubator programmed to produce faceless robots lacking in distinctive personalities, principles or willpower. Anyone who is "different" is rejected by the totalitarian stereotype as "the wrong kind." If he keeps his mouth shut and does as he is told, he is tolerated. But if "the wrong kind" of man dares defy the standard, he is in for serious trouble. Bureaucracy is always ready to label him a dissident.

* * *

Democratization and socialist pluralism have added a new dimension to the problem of choosing one's stand in life. Some will prefer to "conform," others will do a lot of soil-searching and look for their own way. The lot of an "odd-man-out" has always been a sad one, I think. Such a man deliberately dooms himself to confrontation and, more often than not, to defeat. But one thing is certain: there will always be "odd-men-out." As of now, people who do not take anything for granted and are full of new ideas are of special value to our society engaged in perestroika.



Builders of ships

You can reach the ancient town of Drobeta Turnu-Severin by rail or by road. Whichever route you take, you will come out on the banks of the Danube, whose brisk traffic, together with the local port and shipbuilding yards, furnish an excellent notion of the developments that have been underway here for quite some time.

The local yards, Romania's oldest, were built in 1858 by an Austrian businessman who sought to control all shipping along the lower reaches of the river.

Stelian Stoncioiu, the present managing director, who started his career here in 1969 as a probationer-engineer, assumed his post three years ago. It is almost impossible to catch him in his office, though everyone knows he is somewhere around, but where exactly no one can say. As troubleshooter, he copes with any bottlenecks that may arise.

Although before Stoncioiu took over the shipyards were lagging behind, especially in building ships for export, today they are ahead of schedule, and the vessels they produce are graded top quality. Last year the yards built ships with an aggregate tonnage in excess of 150,000. Every vessel commissioned for export is completed ahead of time. In short, what this means is that nowadays the yards are operating at a profit, thanks to the new system of self-financing and cost-accounting. This is largely due to the managing director himself, who presents a fine example of competence, professional skill and drive.

"So you want to know what's toughest for me as managing director?" Stelian Stoncioiu said. "I suppose it would be the need to switch over to new types of shipping, plus the introduction of sophisticated technology, without which we shall not be able to cope with the objective set by our Party of pushing the national tonnage up to 7.5-8 million by 1990."

These achievements are undoubtedly the result of the efforts of the entire staff, even though under the previous managing director they had fallen short of the plan, while discipline on the job was far from good. All this means that things really get going when there is a first-class expert, a real leader in charge, who does not need to bang his fist on the table. It is clear that you can have someone like Stelian Stoncioiu – elegant, calm, even reserved, with a pleasant smile on is face and no sharp notes whatever in his voice.

The managing director is not concerned with strategic objectives alone. One would think he spends more time tackling day-to-day routine yet crucial issues, such as providing enough in the way of food. Unfortunately, here as well as in other parts of the country, there are shortages in supplies of meat, milk and other foodstuffs. Stoncioiu is also concerned with personnel training, especially the rapid training of young people from the villages. Another headache is manual labour. True, so far the shipbuilders cannot dispense with this, but it is necessary to reduce the proportion. Finally, at this enterprise where there are some 800 women among the welders alone, not infrequently difficulties are en-

Photo: **One of the ships the Romanians have built for Soviet rivermen.**

countered in ensuring proper conditions for them.

Stelian Stoncioiu and his deputies told me that they had established a special relationship with the town council. They were obliged to repair schools, day nurseries and roads, and build summer pioneer camps as well as to keep a keen watch on environmental protection. There were also many other things that the yards were obliged to undertake and, said the managing director: "We don't have to be asked twice."

As I left, I spotted the tanker Fyodor Gubanov by the wharves in expectation of a trial run. The ship is intended for the Caspian Shipping Line of the U.S.S.R.

In the 42 years since the first postwar contract for ships was signed the yards have turned out a total of 356 vessels, tankers, freighters, and so on, which are performing reliably on Soviet maritime and river routes. The Fyodor Gubanov is the 357th.

For many years a ship named The Fyodor Gubanov plied the Caspian. However, since it had become obsolete, the Romanian yards started work, just before the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1987, on a new ship, again to be named after Fyodor Konstantinovich Gubanov, a staunch Bolshevik, who as Lenin's comrade-in-arms fought to bring Soviet power to Azerbaijan.

Let me note that motorships commissioned for the Soviet Union are not built at these yards alone. As to the yards in Oltenita, also on the Danube, a short distance from Bucharest, the 100th vessel built specially for the U.S.S.R. was launched last May. These yards build the 5,000-ton Volga-Don-type ships. Before the year is out Romania is to build twenty such ships to total value of 76 million rubles; of this sum the Oltenita yards will account for 40.5 million rubles.

Wherever they live, and Romania is no exception, shipbuilders fall into a very special category. As more often than not they produce just one ship or a series of several of the same type, they have to show a very high level of skill, insofar as today they are producing ships that will have to measure up to the requirements of the 21st century.

Sergei Svirin,
our own correspondent
BUCHAREST

The political weekly New Times keeps you abreast of highlights in the Soviet Union and the world

New Times comes out in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek, and is read in 114 countries.

Next year subscribers will get two free supplements on topical aspects of world affairs.

You can place your subscription for New Times with distributors of Soviet periodicals in your country.

Glasnost for all

Kolyo Kolev,
journalist (Bulgaria)

The changes in Bulgaria have sparked off extensive public discussion

The documents adopted at the plenary meetings of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC in July and September last year, at the National Party Conference in January last and at the Plenary Meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC this July on the reform in the cultural sphere, complete the round of this almost nationwide debate; complete the round rather than draw a line under the discussion, and bring new questions to the fore.

Of all the propositions put forward at the party forums, I would single out the demand for real change or, as one of our weeklies put it, "actual rather than verbal changes." This is wise. Indeed, if there is anything that can kill the idea of changes, this is, first and foremost, rhetoric, impressive as it may sound.

Clearly the first question, what is to be changed, has been answered. Now we ask how and when the changes will be effected. Our society wants its way of living to change not some time in the future but today, tomorrow, this year, in this five-year period. Rosy long-term prospects, look attractive, but when we reach a certain turning point they frequently prove to be mirages. A highlight in the public discussion, which will unquestionably have a tremendous impact on the process of transformation towards real changes, was the statement that the time has come today to abandon illusions.

We know that any hasty action may do damage to the cause. At the same time, a slow development of the restructuring process will not bring the expected results. Specialists maintain, for example, that there is in our economy a very wide gap between large-scale production capacities on the one hand, and the quality and quantity of output, profitability and labour productivity on the other.

Similar disparities exist in other areas too, including the cultural sphere. The cultural assets now being created in our country can hardly be described as corresponding fully to the level of cultural development of the Bulgarian nation. Dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs is not a mere invention on my part but a stand in the overall discussion of the model of restructuring in the fields of science, education and art, and the main topic on the agenda at the latest plenary meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC.

What are the main tendencies of the changes in the cultural sphere?

The individual objectives can be summed up as freeing the mind and spirit of man, his intellect and social energy. Without this, any change will be abstract, rhetorical and false.

And here at times fears arise that all this could lead to chaos, anarchy, disorder. This is one extreme. The other is to claim that any restriction, any command results in tyranny. The conflict of views smooths out the mechanism of real self-government as the basis for all cultural, scientific and educational activities.

University of Sofia has given the country many a generation of intellectuals.
BTA-TASS photo

What is the essence of the resolutions adopted at the July plenary meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC?

First and foremost, these assert self-government in the sphere of creative activity, the work of research institutions, and the field of education and culture as a universal principle in public life. This process got off to a good start at the conferences of cultural and educational workers, who elected their executive bodies.

The introduction of the mandate system in the party and people's councils, the election of executive bodies with several nominees contending for a single post and the establishment of parallel associations are a step towards democratizing our political structures. It looks as if the assertion of these principles will not pose real problems, the difficulties only arising when these principles have to be

implemented. The most important issue here is how much practice corresponds to principles. What is to be done to create a system that will rule out financial and vocational privileges on the strength of position? What should be done to ensure that talent and public recognition are the only criteria for judging merit? What is to be done to wipe out "cover-ups," nepotism, abuses of criticism?

Presumably the quest for answers to these questions will take time and be far from easy. The inertia in mentality and existing social relationships will have to be surmounted. Creative workers' unions, no matter how democratic their ruling principles, have established administrative structures and methods of work. The bureaucrat, no matter where he works – in a government, managerial or creative organization, often does not proceed from interests vested in work but is guided by orders, instructions, and rules formulated by executives. And the inertia of views, actions and habits of the powers-that-be controlling this or that union will add up to administrative jungles that are more than a match for any normal person. Therefore restructuring in the spiritual sphere cannot be implemented unless it is underpinned by strict legal guarantees, unless the way is cleared for law, and provision is made for removing any intermediaries who negate the law or distort its contents.

Here one must take into account the fact that the creative process is governed by its own specific laws (the creative worker too bears specific responsibility to society, and to our own and future generations). What is to be done to rid ourselves of the intermediaries between the creative personality and society? The concept of changes in the cultural sphere now adopted in Bulgaria envisages principles that make the creator independent of the administration and the vested interests of various departments. The concept provides for the free formation of independent creative associations and societies working on the principles of self-administration and collectivism. As I see it, these associations and societies will include like-minded people who need not be members of the same organization or union. Throughout its history, Bulgarian culture has been distinguished by just this kind of creative association, which formed round certain literary magazines and newspapers and came to constitute their own scientific and cultural schools. The creation of independent educational and cultural organizations, libraries, reading-rooms and creative circles in Bulgarian cities and towns were an important political and cultural phenomenon in Bulgaria's history. Why now, over forty years after the socialist revolution, should we be afraid to apply this practice?

The party resolutions speak of the new social role of the mass media, and the new social status of the press, radio and television as a motive force in restructuring. The lifting of the ban on access to confidential information has opened up a wide field of activity for journalists. We think, however, that they will be able to fulfil their new function only if they are independent and responsible to society rather than to executives and "the hierarchy." Freedom of the press and freedom of speech proclaimed in the Constitution, will be a reality only when each citizen has the opportunity to work creatively, and think and express his views freely. Methods of administration and command that impose a personal decision, a single will on others, run counter to the principles of restructuring, and to socialist theory and practice. Such an approach breeds alienation, paralyses initiative, hinders the advance of progressive ideas, and nips things progressive in the bud. In the past this fostered mediocrity and led to self-delusion, and the distortion of authentic values and criteria.

It is therefore difficult to overestimate the fact that in the process of restructuring the cultural sphere, the status of the mass media is underpinned by legislation. In accordance with the decision made by the Politbureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC on August 6, newspapers and magazines no longer represent the executive bodies of different organizations and departments. For example, Rabotnichesko Delo and the magazine Novo Vreme are no longer responsible to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party but to the central organs of the press which speak for the whole party and may come out in opposition to the Central Committee. Specialized newspapers and magazines such as Literaturen Front, Narodna Kultura, Septemvri, Izkustvo, Teater and others have become independent publications of writers, artists and cultural workers. It is planned to reorganize the publishing business and open new publishing houses. Creative work is freeing itself of editorial tutelage, and arbitrary decisions that determine the size of an edition. Publishers will print only works in demand with the reading public, works that have proved their merit, rather than material endorsed and subsidized by the state.

Who will formulate the criteria? Certainly, society, which possesses the necessary intellect, wisdom and experience. The place of a handful of bureaucrats with the exclusive right to mete out praise and blame will be taken by art criticism, pluralism in the assessment of a work of art, and freedom of opinion. This is where we see genuine openness, which cannot be manipulated or monopolized.

The protection of society from all kinds of distortion should be ensured by such important factors as debate, the free discussion of a problem by all who wish to air their views and unite with the aim of translating an idea into reality in the interests of society. Can there be a better way to ensure the interests of the cause than through the clash of opinions? We think not. But the result here depends not so much on the number of opinions as on the depth of judgements and conclusions. We already have the rudiments of free discussion in attempting to assesss the process of restructuring. We realize how little we are as yet prepared to speak freely and defend our position logically, providing sound arguments, avoiding recriminations and threats, and without labelling as vicious the actions of others.

The social sciences in Bulgaria are following closely, though I would say only partially, the development of perestroika in the Soviet Union – in the CPSU, in society, and in the material and cultural spheres. The processes under way in both our countries are very similar, relating to the essence of socialism, its ideological basis, practice and ultimate objectives. Soviet newspapers and magazines and central television broadcasts have become a point of public debate in Bulgaria and a source of social and political experience. It is often emphasized that Soviet publications find the largest market in Bulgaria because of the similarity between the Russian and Bulgarian languages. This is true. Some Soviet newspapers and magazines distributed in Bulgaria such as Pravda, Literaturnaya Gazeta, Moskovskiye Novosti, Kommunist, Ogonyok, Novoye Vremya, Za Rubezhom, averagely run into the same number of copies as our national publications. Understandably, the considerable prestige of and heightened interest in Soviet publications today depend on their political content, the most popular articles being on perestroika, glasnost and democracy, topics consonant with our present-day aspirations and concerns, and the meaning and content of our social progress.

Sofia-Press Agency –
exclusive for New Times

The initiative industry

From our special correspondent
Konstantin Isakov

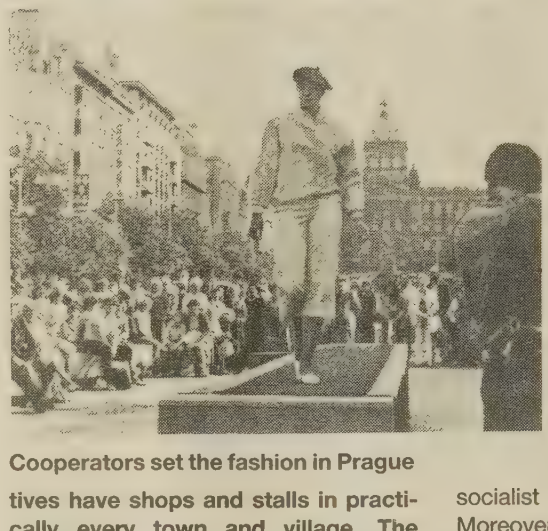
What place does the cooperative movement occupy in Czechoslovakia? What role does it play in the economic and social mechanism? How do the cooperators themselves regard their work and its prospects?

I found the answer to the first question in the Prague telephone directory in my hotel. The list of cooperatives it gave occupied a good ten pages. My Czechoslovak friends told me that the Druchema cooperative, for instance, would dry-clean my suit, the Druopta would repair my camera, the Pradlenka do my laundry, the Autodruzstvo fix my zhiguli or Škoda car, and through the Rekrea cooperative I could order a hotel room in a mountain resort, or arrange for a tourist trip abroad.

Four million cooperators

There are too many to enumerate here, but a few figures, I believe, will be in place. They were given me at the Central Council of Czechoslovak Cooperatives.

- **Czechoslovakia today has 830 producers', consumers' and housing cooperatives, with a total membership of nearly four million. In other words, one out of every four citizens of the republic is a member of a cooperative. And, if we include the agricultural cooperatives, one out of three.**
- **Nearly two-thirds of all the public catering establishments in the country – restaurants, cafés, canteens, refreshment cars, snack bars and wine cellars, as well as 780 hotels, motels and camping sites – belong to the cooperatives.**
- **The republic's 392 producers' cooperatives turn out footwear, clothing, furniture, costume jewellery, prefabricated houses, electronic equipment, kitchen- and table-ware, and souvenirs.**
- **The Jednota and Vcela cooperatives have shops and stalls in practically every town and village. The cooperatives make a point of ensuring that the goods and food products on sale in shops in the most remote villages should be no inferior to those offered in urban state stores.**



Cooperators set the fashion in Prague

Needless to say, the diverse forms of collective enterprise, which are linked by numerous ties with the state mechanism, did not spring up overnight, by decree, so to say; they evolved gradually in response to public demand and have gained more and more experience from year to year.

A tradition dating back 150 years

Nearly 150 years have passed since Samuil Jurkovič, a schoolteacher from the Slovak village of Sobotište, organized the country's first credit cooperative. It was founded because only by uniting could the peasants and handicraftsmen hold their own against the landlords and usurers. Jurkovič's cooperative was not long-lived. But the idea of mutual assistance, of democracy, struck deep roots. The numerous cooperative self-help societies in Czechia and Slovakia were the forerunners of the socialist labour movement. In Bratislava I was told that many of the delegates to the inaugural congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia had been founders of proletarian cooperatives.

This historical link came up in the course of the interview I had with František Tesař, chairman of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Cooperatives. I asked him how the cooperative movement had developed after the liberation of Czechoslovakia and in the first years of the building of socialism.

"At that time I worked in eastern Czechia as First Secretary of a district party committee," Tesař replied. "We Communists saw in the cooperatives the most effective and painless way to secure the transition of the handicraftsmen, artisans and small producers in general to socialist forms of economic activity. Moreover the cooperatives provided jobs for the population of the non-industrial areas where there were no large-scale state enterprises. Of course, not everyone was prepared at once to give up the illusion fostered for years by bourgeois propaganda that any bicycle repair-shop owner could become a Henry Ford. But we pointed out that genuine social security **for all** means more than the pipe-dream of becoming a milliardaire coming true **for one** in millions. And people believed us. Life itself proved that we were right. And the correctness of our position was confirmed by crucial test..."

"You refer to the year 1968?"

"Yes. During the crisis that gripped the Party and society at that time the reactionaries counted on the cooperators being the first to respond to their call to return to capitalist forms of economy. But they miscalculated. Not a single cooperative fell apart.

"In the course of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia," Tesař continued, "the specific structure of the movement took shape. Basic to it is the cooperative as an independent socialist organization.

"Czechoslovak cooperatives are united in societies of cooperatives engaging in the same field of activity, and the highest body of the movement as a whole is the Central Council. This system is quite flexible, since every cooperative is legally and economically independent. At the same time, it makes for the concentration of resources in the essential areas; the

ocieties represent the movement in the ational Front of Czechoslovakia, put out eriodical publications and jointly run chools for training skilled personnel, lanning institutes and foreign trade rms.

"But you mustn't think that our ooperative movement has no probms," Tesař said, anticipating my quesion. "And these problems are particularly ressing now that all spheres of conomic and social life of the republic re undergoing restructuring. On the one and, the cooperatives occupy a promient place in our economic mechanism. n the other hand, not infrequently there outside interference in their activity hich results in the loss of initiative and dependence. It was not for nothing that any of the speakers at the recent 10th ongress of the Central Council of zechoslovak Cooperatives put the estion bluntly thus:

Who is to run the cooperative?

Indeed during the past year the zechoslovak cooperatives did not alays have an easy time of it. In Czechosvakia, too, the theory was propounded at cooperative socialist property was a mporary phenomenon and that the ooner it was transformed into national roperty, the more successfully ocialism would develop. In practice this d to the cooperatives being placed at a isadvantage vis-à-vis state bodies and rganizations, to non-observance of ontractual obligations, difficulties in obhining raw and other materials of the eeded quality and assortment, and to dministrative interference.

These matters were discussed also at e Congress.

"Can you call it a normal situation when ooperative members who have paid in eir money and complied with all the foralities have only the vaguest hope of etting a flat?" the delegates said from e Congress rostrum, "most of the ooperative housing in the localities is anded over to the enterprises which buy ooperative flats instead of building their wn housing."

"Of course that is an abnormal situaon," says Zdenek Šural, deputy chairan of the Czech society of building ooperatives. "It runs counter to state ousing policy. Such interference is, if ou like, a reflection of the view that isted and still exists of the cooperative ovement as a sort of subordinate, secndary form of socialist economy called upon to meet the needs of the state enterprises and of individuals wherever these enterprises find it unprofitable to do so themselves."

"How does this work out in practice?"

"I cannot go into details, but I will let you judge for yourself: one in every two flats built in Czechoslovakia today is a cooperative flat. The cooperative housing fund amounts to 1,000,000 flats which are occupied by one-fifth of the population. The cooperatives help to bring in the additional funds needed to speed up the satisfaction of the present demand for housing. And this help will be the more substantial the less administrative interference there is in our work and in the distribution of its fruits."

"Experience," Šural went on, "compels us to take a sober look at things. When I was chairman of a cooperative I learned what the command method means. You can order people to do many things but you cannot order them to display initiative."

How it works

From Prague the highway runs through the valley of the Jizera River to nothern Czechia. It is said in jest, or perhaps in all seriousness, that in Liberec, situated in the spurs of the Jizera mountains, the only two state organizations that functioned in the first few months after liberation were the post office and the railway station. The cooperatives took care of everything else.

"That could be true, though I cannot vouch for it," engineer Drahomira Čermakova, chairman of the Likov cooperative association, said with a smile. "But I can tell you the history of our cooperative."

It was founded 39 years ago by a group of small proprietors and handicraftsmen who found it far more advantageous to work jointly than individually. Gradually they went over from the simplest kind of work to more complex. In place of the tiny workshops equipped with the simplest tools they built new premises with up-to-date equipment. Today the cooperative maintains automobile service stations and repair shops. Each of its nine service stations located in three districts of the province services 40 cars daily. The annual profit runs to 3,800,000 korunas, derived not only from car servicing but also from economy of electricity and materials, and trade in automobile accessories. Before long there will be an additional source of income from a car-hire service.

"Profit is not our main objective," Čermakova continued. "It is a measure of our ability to serve customers quickly and cheaply."

"Is it cheaper to change your oil, for instance, at a service station than to do it yourself?" I asked.

"Certainly. Let's figure it out. To change the oil in a Škoda yourself you will have to pay 100 korunas for four litres of oil and another 50 korunas for a filter. Besides, you will muck yourself up in the process and you won't know what to do with the old oil."

"Now, if you drive in to one of our service stations, a mechanic will take charge of your car at the entrance and tell you how much you will have to pay. The sum will include the cost of the oil, 50 korunas for the filter and 12.5 korunas for the work. The cooperative takes the old oil for regeneration and deducts its value from the total cost of the service. In this way you economise 20-30 korunas, not to speak of your time."

"Do the station attendants never overcharge customers?"

"We are very strict about that. If the cooperative controllers discover such an overcharge, the extra amount is returned to the customer. If outside inspectors discover an instance of such overcharging the cooperative has to pay a heavy fine."

"But can a cheap malfunctioning part not sometimes be replaced by a whole sub-assembly?"

"Theoretically that is possible. But let us do some more calculation. A mechanic keeps one of every three korunas he earns net. And if there are no complaints, he gets a bonus depending on the cooperative's profit. So you see it pays to work honestly."

"But are your clients always satisfied?"

"Regrettably, not always as yet. We have difficulties as regards supply of spare parts and various materials. Although we get our supplies from a centralized source we are often last on the list. Therefore we place great hopes on the reform, and on the new law on the cooperatives. It ought to give us a much freer hand."

* * *

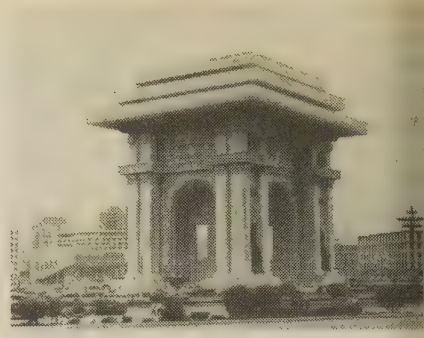
Wherever I went I was told that the cooperators are already reaping the first fruits of the restructuring of the Czechoslovak economy. Restrictions on cooperatives operating outside their respective regions have been lifted as have regulations limiting them to only one type of activity (for instance, metal-working cooperatives were forbidden to produce household chemicals). The cooperatives are now more of their own masters than they used to be.

The law on producers', consumers' and housing cooperatives went into force on July 1. It is designed to afford the most favourable conditions for the development of the cooperative movement. But the decisive thing is how effectively the cooperators themselves will make use of that law.

Prague — Bratislava — Liberec — Moscow

A paper flower from Panmunjon

From our special correspondents
Boris Balkarey and Albert Pin



Triumphal Arc in Pyongyang

There is a thirty-metre monument built from pale-grey marble at the southern foot of the picturesque Peony Mountain at the Centre of Pyongyang. It is called Hebanthab, and weighs 815 tons, to symbolize a significant date, August 15, August being the eighth month of the year. We ascended the steps to the platform at the base of the Liberation Monument, and saw an inscription in bronze in Korean and Russian: "To the eternal glory of the great Soviet army, which liberated the Korean people from the yoke of the Japanese imperialists, and paved their way to freedom and independence. August 15, 1945."

We came here on an overcast day and, looking back at the city, we saw the outlines of palaces and highrise buildings melt away in the haze. On the right we could see the elaborate roof of the People's Study Centre, which is built in national style. Beyond it stood the rectangular Koryo Hotel, its 45 stories towering over the Centre. Electric welders flashed on the other bank of the Taedong River in east Pyongyang, where work is underway on the National and Youth Theatres. Sports facilities for next year's World Youth and Student Festival are being built on Reunna Island.

The selfless war effort of our soldiers is remembered in this beautiful city and the republic as it grows stronger, approaching its 40th anniversary.

Figures have a profound symbolic meaning here. The ratio between the elements of a monument and its weight carry a message. The 170 metre monument to Chuchae ideas can be seen clearly from Hebanthab. Built on the 70th birhtday of Kim Il Sung, it consists of 25,550 stones, the number of days that Kim Il Sung had lived by that date.

We marvelled at the amazing diligence of those who created all this, and reflected on the difficult trials undergone by the republic, which after independence, proclaimed self-reliance the most important principle of its development. Perhaps these trials explain much that obtains today, similar in many ways to our own experience of the recent past.

Parallel

The main street of Kaesong, a border town standing on green knolls at the centre of the Korean peninsula, is crowded, an unlikely sight in the country. A bus pulls up at a stop and thirteen young men get off. Athletically built, they wear dark green suits of excellent cut. The crowd cheers as they pass. A band plays and slogans are chanted through loudspeakers, confetti is thrown at them.

The thirteen men are a student delegation and the crowd is here to send them off to Panmunjon, a village eight kilometres to the south. The students have arrived to meet their Southern counterparts. The initiative came from the South. The demarcation line between North and South passes through Panmunjon, along the 38th parallel. Here 33 years ago the fate of the nation was decided in armistice talks lasting over two years. That is also why Kaesong and its outlying areas survived to become the only town in North Korea untouched by American bombings. The area was given neutral status and bomber pilots were warned of this by flood lights.

The armistice agreement signed at Panmunjon on July 27, 1953 put an end to the bloodshed, but the country remained divided. Over the past 35 years, military confrontation has been a grim reality on the peninsula, complete with military maneouvres and border incidents.

Perhaps today the wall of mutual mistrust will be breached and we shall witness this? It was with that hope that we followed the students into Panmunjon. At the centre of the dual security zone there are several wooden houses through which the demarcation line passes. The Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations' Supervisory Commission in Korea sit here. The observers came out wearing the military uniforms of Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. They were clearly interested. But, unfortunately, there were no South Koreans.

The leader of the students took a microphone and told newsmen: "The South Korean students have not yet arrived, but we shall wait for them. I believe that they will come. They may be late, but they will come. They named the time and place themselves." "We shall wait for them," he said after a pause.

The shutters of cameras clicked as the delegation was filmed by reporters and TV crews. Pictures of the delegation were also taken from the other side. A group of U.S. servicemen could be seen thirty metres away. They were standing on an observation platform built like a pagoda. They chatted and smiled provocatively. To them this is a spectacle that broke the drudgery of duty.

The students appeared on the balcony of a two-storey building opposite the observation platform and begin to chant: "North-South talks will be held!" They raised their hands. Each of them held a red paper flower. They then started singing. The song was called "The Unification Train Rolls On."

The South Korean students did not turn up. The next day Radio Seoul reported that they had been intercepted on their way to Panmunjon. Three police cordons were mounted in their way. Eighty policemen were injured and 100 students arrested.

The wall

The two Koreas are separated by an ideological wall, but there also is a fer-

concrete wall between the two countries. It stretches for 240 kilometres. It is five metres high and measures ten metres across at its base. It was built in the early 1970s on the southern side, in violation of the armistice agreement, and contains depots of ammunition, weapons and military hardware.

It was believed that the North Koreans would respond to the wall by growing insular and flexing their own muscles, but that has not proved to be the case. The doors of the republic are open wide to all Koreans who hold dear the land of their ancestors.

In the coastal town of Wonsan, where the wharves smell of fish and seaweed, we saw several hundred Koreans who had come aboard the steamship Samjyong. There were very young people among them supporting their elderly relatives. Each held a small flag of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They formed a line near the monument to Kim Il Sung and bowed their heads. On a cue from their leader they cried out "Mansae!" the traditional Korean greeting.

They are called "tonpho," or "groups visiting the homeland" and they came from Japan. At the hotel we spoke to one of them, who had come to the republic for the first time. He emigrated from South Korea in 1956, and has worked as a woodcutter all his life to raise his son and support his family. His wife and he decided to visit North Korea now, that they have both reached old age. We asked him about the attitudes toward ethnic Koreans in Japan and before he could answer his wife told us that attitudes are good and there is practically no discrimination.

She said she was much surprised to see highrise buildings in Wonsan. Propaganda, wherever it may come from, has little to do with reality, and her words came as a reminder of the importance of direct communication for ordinary people.

Many Koreans living in Japan express their love for their homeland in ways other than mere visits. In Pyongyang they showed us round the Ansanthack district, named after the Japanese businessman of Korean extraction who furnished and installed plumbing and furniture in all apartments here at his own expense. Wealthy Japanese Koreans very often invest in important projects here or supply advanced technological equipment. Quite often the call of their homeland proves stronger than the attractions of a higher standard of living. Over 100,000 people have been repatriated to the North since 1959.

Wonsan. They crossed the sea to come here

The association of Korean citizens in Japan, or Chonryong, handles most of the ties with ethnic Koreans living abroad. It is a very powerful organization, with a membership of 700,000 of the total of 900,000 Koreans living in Japan. It has 49 local boards in the prefectures, 300 branches and 1,800 local organizations. The association takes care of women's and youth organizations, entrepreneurs' and merchants' guilds, and educators' and artists' unions, members of the press, scientists, managers and foreign trade concerns. It also takes care of ten folk groups.

What do ethnic Koreans living abroad think about the unification of their country? What are their relations with the D.P.R.K.? We met correspondents of the Korean language newspaper Choson Shimbo published in Japan during our brief stay in Kaesong. Park Chon Suk and Lu Chun Do had arrived from Tokyo to cover the student meeting in Panmunjon.

Koreans living in Japan want to see their country unified more than anything else, Park Chon Suk told us. They live abroad and know what it is like to be away from home. The government of the D.P.R.K. helps many members of our association, and we in turn, help them build socialism here. The children of Koreans living in Japan have the opportunity to go to vernacular schools where they can learn the language of their ancestors. The government of North Korea gives grants to Korean students who go to Korean colleges in Japan.

Park Chon Suk graduated from the political science department of the Korean university in Tokyo. He said that his parents left Korea in 1927. After the war

his father worked as a school inspector in Tokyo. "He often told me," Park says, "that Korea was my homeland and that I must never forget it. You must work for the good of our homeland, he used to say. When I was a student I realized that what my father had been telling me was in fact Chuchae ideas. As I look back on my life now, I can say that I have lived according to these ideas, and it is this that matters."

"What is the attitude to your views in Japan?"

"In Japan we are referred to as 'wandering Koreans' because our papers identify us as citizens of the D.P.R.K. The Koreans in Japan are defending their right to Korean citizenship. The authorities respond by denying some of them the right to rend an apartment in a convenient neighbourhood or refusing to give them certain jobs."

Firm

The results of the activity of the association of Korean citizens living in Japan are very much in evidence. Park Ok Chun is the director of the Tondewon textile factory, which employs three thousand workers and specializes in menswear. She told us that the association and the North Korean trade agency Unha recently organized a joint-stock textile firm in Moranbong on the basis of the factory. The equipment for the firm was supplied by young Koreans living in Japan. They also supplied raw materials and advanced technology. The Korean side provided the premises and workforce. Half the output belongs to the republic and the other half to the owners of the equipment, profit be shared accordingly.

In the workshops girls in red coats deftly operated Japanese sewing machines coupled to pressing devices. Other girls were packing men's jackets, very well cut, in plastic sacks. For some reason the jackets carried the label of a well-known West German fashion house.

"The official opening ceremony will be held on September 5," the director said. "The equipment is undergoing tests and the factory operates only one shift. We are fulfilling small batch orders from French, West German and British companies. After the equipment has been fully tested we shall go over to two-shift operation, making an annual 500,000 men's jackets and 200,000 suits."

We asked whether this was the beginning of a new avenue of cooperation, but the director told us that there are many joint companies in the republic in various

The leader of the student delegation: "The South Korean students have not come, but we shall wait for them..."

industries. According to Park Ok Chun, they are very efficient.

The Tondewon textile factory exports its products to the Soviet market as well. It supplies 600,000 pairs of men's trousers cut according to Soviet patterns from the fabrics supplied by the Soviet Ministry of Light Industry. The trousers looked durable and neatly made, but the cut and fabric were clearly out of fashion. Disappointment must have been written very clearly on our faces as we tried to imagine the 600,000 men wearing these dull blue or brown pants. The director was aware of our feelings. She said that she did not like the fabric herself, but she was convinced that these colours were popular in this country. She said that she would be glad to supply us with garments made of light and beautiful fabrics, "no worse than those supplied to West Germany," she said.

Machine tool No. 26

They took us to a cooperative making plastic packing materials in Sariwon in North Hwanghae province. It is a relatively small enterprise employing 250. It makes plastic bags for farm produce.

We saw automated equipment in the workshops and they took us to the machine tool shop where we saw bright labels with the figure 26 pasted to some machine tools. The chairman of the cooperative, Song Rak Won, explained that the labels are given to those who win the "competition for machine tool No. 26."

"When our dear leader Kim Jong Il (the son of Kim Il Sung, secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea) studied at University," he went on to say, "he was given practice training in a textile machine building factory where he operated machine tool No. 26. He kept his machine tool so clean that his attitude to work became a model to be emulated. Since then workers have been trying to keep their machine tools as clean as he did in order to win the title of 'master of machine tool No. 26.' The title is given to individual workers and whole teams. Our cooperative has won it on two occasions.

"Before the year 1976, we had to use primitive equipment, but our dear leaders Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il helped us. The government supplied new equipment to us and we built a new factory ourselves. Productivity grew sharply and we now produce 4 million bags every year and overfulfill the plan by 20 per cent.

We asked him about the differences between the cooperative and a state-run enterprise. The chairman took a cigarette out of a green pack and lit up before he answered our question.

"In spite of the fact that the assets of the cooperative belong to its members, there are no substantial differences between us and state-run factories. There is no difference in pay or in our relationship with the planning bodies." The chairman made another pause and then added: "Eventually, of course, the cooperative would become a state-run enterprise, but for the time being it is important that cooperatives remain in the country."

That was something that we clearly could not grasp and he explained that since that form of property continued to exist in South Korea, North Koreans would like to give South Korean workers an opportunity to work under conditions to which they are accustomed, after the country has been unified, of course.

This came as a sudden reminder of the division of the country and brought to mind the red paper flower, a memento of Panmunjon. After the students left, several paper flowers remained lying about five metres from the demarcation line, and we picked one up. A time may come when the wall between North and South will be torn down and real flowers will grow in its place.

Pyongyang – Kaesong – Panmunjon – Wonsan – Sariwon – Moscow

Photos by authors

JUNIOR WORLD

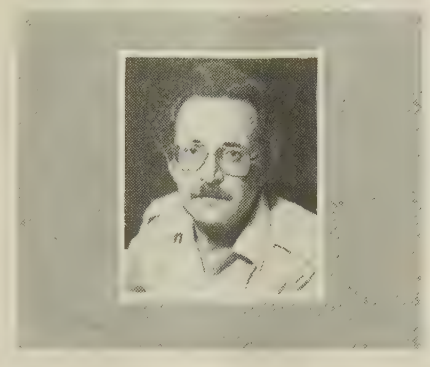
Twelve Junior World columns have already come off the press (the first appeared in No. 25), and I am receiving the first comments, contradictory as usual – commending, debating or disparaging.

That's the way it should be, for this page was not conceived as a survey or diary of events in the world of young people and education. The time of mere reporting has gone, and today every writer or newsman belongs to this or that public movement and is responsible not only for what he says but also for what he leaves unsaid. Naturally not all speech is silver, as the saying goes, but silence is no longer golden and sometimes it is even made of base metal. Today the inner voice should be saying: don't keep mum, don't dare hush things up! Several "lassies" have forced a 14-year-old boy to fag for them, they kick him, make him steal and lick their boots in the literal sense of the word. "I lick them because they are not very dirty," the boy writes. I fully realize that it is a painstaking and important job to compile projects and charters, but what on earth is their worth – and our entire education system's, for that matter – if a teenager, even only one, is made to lick someone's boots and he licks them! How can one keep silent? How is one not to censure the school that has raised such people, the girls as much as the boy?!

I would urge my readers, and especially teachers – please don't stay silent. We are too shy (or too lazy) to voice our opinions, we still hope that all the best things, the best schools included, will come of themselves, out of the blue. And still as educationalists we should know better than anyone else that it is not freedom granted but liberating oneself that makes a personality, a human being.

And how can a teacher voice his opinion? By a letter to an official department or a newspaper or magazine? Yes, of course. But mainly in his trade union, at a meeting with his colleagues, open to all.

Teachers need a union. A lonely voice is never heard. Without a union a teacher is helpless. Everybody – designers, coop members and invalids – already have their unions, and only teachers are just talking, for the second year running, and waiting for a union to be decreed from above instead of taking the matter into their own hands.



You'll be surprised

Paradoxical as it may seem, a union already exists, only it is not yet recognized as such. I mean Eureka, the creative pedagogics clubs. In only a year about 500 such clubs have sprung up all over the country. They are not innovators' or front-rank teachers' clubs (and that is sometimes held against them). They unite people who desire, and are acting, to bring about the renovation of the Soviet school system.

For bureaucrats, the Eurekans, as they have come to be known, are just impostors. Nobody elected, appointed or sanctioned them, and yet they exist, assemble, work and hold ambitious national rallies which little by little are coming to resemble congresses. This is something that was unheard of before.

The last such assembly was held near Izhevsk, the capital of Udmurtia, on August 8-18. It was sponsored by the regional CPSU committee and the Udmurtian Ministry of Education. It was attended by 600 teachers from all over the country speaking on behalf of the Eurekans that already exist and function. This is the force that all will have to reckon with, the official union included. For, all the indications are that such a union will be set up following the routine procedure, since nobody as yet can conceive of a union without the usual hierarchy and an apparatus parallel to and analogous with the state machine.

The assembly in Udmurtia gives rise to only one feeling – wonder at the things schoolteachers can do. What a free, vigorous and at the same time sensible and responsible life they are capable of organizing.

The national Eureka, sponsored by the teachers' newspaper and funded by the State Committee on Education, collected 250 innovative, unconventional school projects. The six best of them were picked at the Eureka assembly in Krasnoyarsk in April, and in Izhevsk these authors' schools, as they are called, were piloted, and Eureka members studied there for ten days.

Odessa teacher N. Guzik introduced his school complex; a Moscow schoolmaster E. Eryomina offered her cooperation laboratory school; D. Lebedev, a research biochemist by profession, introduced his school of development by creative work; historian S. Maryasin submitted his special-purpose creative programmes; philosopher V. Bibler inaugurated his cultural dialogue school, and schoolmaster A. Tubelsky opened his "school of care." In a brief article I cannot describe this assembly-cum-congress; it was captivating and dizzying, unconstrained and meaningful. The flag was lowered at 3 a.m., the Debauch group, six literature teachers, held their witty performances, heated debates raged in the local Hyde Park, and passions ran high at the evening plenums...

Here is just one comment that I copied in a drizzle from an information board near the canteen: "The pupils from the cultural dialogue school see that the proposed system is a breakthrough; such a school could raise civilized, thinking people; it has a solid philosophical background; it is pregnant with self-developing ideas; it preserves and regenerates culture; respects and nurtures the child's individuality and vital forces; the teacher's growth is limitless here, and the pupils are constantly in a state of wonder."

We have certainly got out of the habit of hearing such words from our educationalists.

Unfreeze, dear colleagues, and please speak up! Do it any way you please, in a talk, in a letter, in a union, in a project, only don't stay silent. From the point of freezing, from the point of disgust with, and revolt against, the old, to the point of surprise at your own capabilities and at the new school, be it only in embryo, but still already in existence – that is the path both the teacher and the pupil will have to travel. We've been licking the boots of the moribund for far too long.

Simon Soloveichik

Arvydas Sabonis

Wins that must be forgotten

Why so? Because Soviet basketballers will face formidable opponents at this year's Olympic Games in Seoul

When getting ready to go to the Rotterdam pre-Olympic basketball tournament, I did not expect our team to be placed first there. In fact, we did not even set ourselves that objective. We primarily sought to snatch one of the three places available for the Seoul Olympic Games. Indeed, due to a quite understandable, rational desire to broaden the range of prize claimants, the FIBA, the International Amateur Basketball Federation, allotted only three places to the Old World, another three went to the Americans and two each to Asia and Africa. The final two places were assigned by right to the U.S. team, which won the 1984 Games, and to the South Korean team as a representative of the host country. Yet the standard of European basketball nowadays is much higher than in any other continent. As a result, the strong Italian, Greek, West German, French, Israeli, U.K. and Dutch teams have found themselves out in the cold.

My apprehensions were due to my thinking that there would not be enough time to reorganize our strategy, considering that our three best centre players, Arvydas Sabonis, Vladimir Tkachenko and Sergei Babenko are still ill: true, Tkachenko did try his hand but had to pull out before the end of the Rotterdam tournament. Meanwhile, tactics were still largely based on these three players who, head and shoulders above the rest, ensured both a fine defence and a vigorous attack. In Rotterdam we had to allot the basic roles to other team members as the centre players available were far below what is now required in this key position.

We did learn from the lessons of the 1987 European championship, in which the Soviet team was runner-up. This first concerned practice. Last year we definitely had too little – and this was compounded by psychological tension, spectator mood and not very impartial umpires. This time we went first to Italy, Spain, the F.R.G., and Bulgaria. We did not win all, in particular letting Greece get the upper hand at one of the tournaments, owing to which we again heard complaints that Soviet basketball was in the shade and that without Sabonis we could never win a serious contest. However, I must say I did not set the team this objective. The important thing was to put all aspirants to the national team, especially newcomers, through their paces, see whom we could primarily count on and who were to comprise the backbone of the Olympic team. Unlike some sceptics, I was sure that we would definitely win through to the Olympics.

One heavy loss was Valdis Valters, who, busy taking his college graduation exams, could not train with the team. When he, our recent team skipper, finally joined us, we realized that he was now failing to keep up with the rest. Sorry to part with him, as he is unusually gifted, I put the issue to the entire team, who unanimously agreed that he was not up to it at the moment. We had another such meeting before going out to play the Atlanta Hawks. The U.S.S.R. State Committee on Sport executives there were amazed by the democratic, open and sincere mood. Again the entire team said that Valters was out. We must also give Valters his due for putting aside personal ambition and admitting that he was indeed not up to it and could not play for the national team at the moment.

I have allotted so much space to the vicissitudes of this leading basketball player for a specific reason. The selection problem has now been on the agenda for years, but never has the issue been so dramatic as today. We can understand why, but that has not changed the situation. Unfortunately the range of international-class players is steadily contracting, and the influx of gifted youngsters has reduced to a trickle.

However, there was no reason to fear that this would upset the players and make them feel too nervous to tackle a strong opponent. On the contrary, the boys clubbed together and dedicated themselves wholeheartedly to training. Hence we managed to pull through to the Rotterdam tournament without much difficulty.

Our next two games were rather tough, demanding plenty of stamina. On the other hand, I must say I could not have hoped for a better trial of the team's strength.

Mike Fratello disappointed

After the Rotterdam tournament, we were to meet the pros, the Atlanta Hawks, top club in the U.S. National Basketball Association (NBA). But let me first tell you what preceded these games, which have carved a place for themselves in the annals of world sport, just as the legendary matches between Soviet ice-hockey players and the Canadian pros did.

After our first games against the pros at the Macdonald's tournament – last autumn when we were beaten by the Milwaukee Bucks, though not so good a team as the Atlanta Hawks, but traditionally, you must spoil before you spin, they say, I asked Ted Turner, the millionaire owner of the Atlanta Hawks, a man we have heard much about, whether he could send the team this way. He smiled, and said that first I had to talk three men around.These were David Stern, NBA chief, Borislaw Stanković, FIBA General Secretary, and Mike Fratello, the Hawks' senior coach. Then I had to talk the team members themselves into coming as they could go only in summer when NBA is not in the news. However, then they have their own affairs to attend to, their businesses, studies or holidays with their families. Though neither Stern, nor Stanković said "okay" at once, they did not say No. Fratello warned that in principle it was possible, but without the stars. I wanted the stars to come, and so I hammered away. What helped was the fact that many of the Hawks had made friends with our boys after Marciulionis, Volkov, Goborov, Tikhonenko, Sokk, and Zhukanenko and I had gone to the Hawks training camp last year. To cut a long story short, Turner, Fratello and most of the players were amenable. They said that as the changes in Soviet life were so interesting they would come though not in top form. True, to our regret, at the outset two Hawks stars Dominique Wilkins and Anthony Webb declined.

Unlike the Americans, our boys were tired. However I could allow them only a brief rest. In the long run, games with pros mean much and I couldn't think of any better trial before the Olympics. True, there were fears that we would again lose heavily, as against the Milwaukee Bucks. On the other hand, I saw that though the team appeared to be the same as that of a year ago, it was really totally different. They were no longer nervous, and the memory of poor success no longer preyed on their minds: on the contrary, they were all roaring to go and had no intention of being trounced.

Afterwards Fratello admitted that he had been disappointed, as even without their stars the pros had thought they would smash us. However, their first two victories were incredibly hard won: only their superior, staying power (the Hawks are accustomed to 48 minutes of time in a tough, high-speed style) and also their end-game experience tipped the scales. The Soviet team won the third and last game, a truly historic victory that will go down in golden letters. We have compelled respect, showing that genuine basketball is possible not only in NBA. This, mind you, in spite of the fact that we didn't have our stars with us, owing to which the Hawks hammered us beneath the baskets.

Keep going

After this wonderful win, the team was naturally in a state of euphoria. Now my job was to make the boys forget the whole affair as soon as possible, as the Olympic Games are as tough an ordeal. The Americans are always strong, and for the Olympics they assemble their top amateurs, already with contracts in their pocket. They have kept on David Robinson, the wizard of the 1986 world championship in college basketball, even though professional clubs have long had their sights on him. Heading the team is that highly experienced coach and brilliant expert John Thomson, who, to put his charges through their paces, also arranged for a series of games with a team of NBA pros, who were again beaten. The Americans' main trumps are pressing beneath the baskets, speed and a stonewall defence, which our team must prepare to oppose.

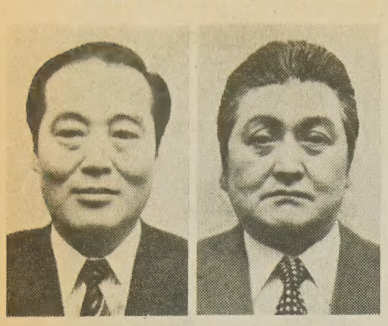
However, it should not be thought that the Americans are our only rivals. Take the Yugoslavs, especially the young Vlado Divac, Janco Paspal, Ivan Sunara and Franko Arapović. Or take the Spaniards, who until recently made so good a showing against us. Won't they want to get back at us for their crushing defeat in Rotterdam? For that matter, the Brazilians may light fireworks, like the Argentinians who at the world championship two years ago were the only team to beat the future titleholders, the Americans. In short there are more than ehough formidable opponents. Event the win against the pros is not a foregone conclusion. No wonder, almost immediately after the Atlanta Hawks games the Soviet team made a tour of Australia, and then took part in an international tournament in Spain. In short the Olympic Games are on our minds.

Prof. Alexander Gomelsky,

Merited trainer
of the U.S.S.R.
and chief coach of the U.S.S.R.
basketball team

■

PROFILE SKETCHES



The civilian head of the Japanese Defence Agency, **Tsutomu Kawara,** has resigned after under a year in office. He has assumed responsibility for the collision of a submarine with the fishing boat Fuji Maru in July. Thirty people died in the collision.

Tsutomu Kawara, 51, was trained as a lawyer. He has been elected to parliament six times and held various party and government posts. He was considered to have very good prospects, but his career has now been ruined. It is likely that public opinion outside Japan would consider the personal responsibility of Tsutomu Kawara, who assumed his post last autumn, to be far too small to warrant his resignation, but attitudes in Japan are different. The top executive is responsible for all the crimes and mistakes of his subordinates.

In 1971, one of Tsutomu Kawara's predecessors had to resign in a similar situation after a fighter belonging to the Self-Defence Forces collided in mid-air with a passenger liner, killing 162 passengers. The directors of aviation and rail companies are held responsible for air and rail crashes in Japan.

The senior politician, Kichiro Tazawa, 70, is taking over from Tsutomu Kawara. He has been elected to parliament nine times and held the posts of Director-General of the National Land Agency and Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. He has said that some 400 million yens will be spent by the Self-Defence Forces on additional measures to ensure the safety of shipping.

* * *

National TV announcer **Maya Sidorova** became really popular throughout the country after she started hosting the show "Before and after Midnight" with Vladimir Molchanov. She says she is now instantly recognized in the streets of Moscow and that being a celebrity is a strain, which she is trying to avoid by wearing dark glasses.

Maya Sidorova became a TV announcer almost by accident. Her parents wanted her to be a doctor and she herself was bent on a historian's career. One day a girl friend asked Maya to accompany her to an entrance audition at the Shchepkin Drama School to give her some encouragement. To her own surprise and that of the examinating board Maya decided to recite a short prose excerpt, and they were so impressed that she was at once admitted to the third round of the entrance competition.

In her senior year at the Drama School Maya won a national television competition to select announcers. She says that looking into the dark empty eye of the camera she senses her invisible audience. She never tries to be liked by her audience, but attempts to tune in to the wavelength of sincerity and kindness, as she does not want people to feel lonely.

Maya says that she dreams of hosting children's shows on national channels.

* * *

Having assumed the post of Culture Minister in the Felipe Gonzalez cabinet, the prominent Spanish author **Jorge Semprun,** 64, has resumed an active political career.

Jorge Semprun joined the Spanish Communist Party at the age of 18. His parents supported the Republic, and therefore from 1939 on his family lived in France, where he took part in the French Resistance during the war. He was arrested by the Gestapo

A baronial art collection here

Baron and Baroness Thyssen-Bornemisza have celebrated their wedding anniversary in Moscow. The famous industrialist brought masterpieces of painting from his collection to the Soviet capital and then to Novosibirsk, where it was the first time that such a representative exhibition of painting had been held.

One of the richest men in Europe, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza de Kaszon is the owner of a private art collection that is second only to the collection of the British Queen. Recently the baron signed a deal under which 700 paintings from his collection will be displayed for ten years in Spain, the home country of his wife. A special building is under construction near the famous Prado Museum to house the collection.

Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza was born in 1921 in The Hague. Until 1939 he lived in the Netherlands where he finished school. He went on to work for a bank for six months without knowing that the bank was owned by his father. At the age of 18 he saw the works of Titian, Dürer, Rubens, and Velasquez for the first time at the family villa Favorita. His father never showed that collection to the general public.

During the war the young baron went to the universities of Bern and Fribourg in Switzerland. In 1945 h moved to Lugano to sta with his father then serious ill.

After his father's deat Baron Thyssen-Bornemisz inherited the greater part the art collection, and reso ved to restore it to its form magnificence and make accessible to the public. 1948 he opened a gallery old masters.

About 25 years ago h began collecting the work the classics of modernis and contemporary art. Unli his father, who considere Goya the last "good" painte Hans Heinrich takes pride this second collection.

The exhibition of 20th ce tury masters is the four display of the Thyssen-Bo nemisza collection. Colle tions from Soviet museum have been displayed Lugano, where the baron r sides.

A. Svetozarc

THE ELEKTRONIKA DESKTOP DIGITAL CLOCK STANDS OUT FOR:

– high time-keeping accuracy
– noiseless running
– easy-to-read dial
– repeater alarm signal

Comes in metal, plastic or teak-trimmed cases, in a large variety of stylings and colours.

The Elektronika
Central Advertising Agency

The Golden Ring
Advertising Agency

FLY AEROFLOT TO THE CAUCASUS AND THE CRIMEA

АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines

A holiday problem?
Black Sea resorts in the Crimea and the Caucasus is the answer.
The world-famous Soviet Black Sea health resorts mean:
– more than 200 sunny days a year;
– miles of golden beaches;
– a bather's paradise (seawater temperatures:
24 to 26 degrees C, bathing season from May to November);
– picturesque mountain scape, lush subtropical vegetation;
– salubrious spas;
– comfortable hotels and sanatoriums.
The fastest way to get there is by Aeroflot!

For details about the most convenient routes contact
the Aeroflot agency in your country.

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ Я